Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion

Religions in the Graeco-Roman World

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VOLUME 166

Votives, Places and Rituals in Etruscan Religion

Studies in Honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa

Edited by

Margarita Gleba
Hilary Becker

BRILL

LEIDEN • BOSTON
2009

This book is printed on acid-free paper.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Votives, places, and rituals in Etruscan religion : studies in honor of Jean MacIntosh Turfa / edited by Margarita Gleba, Hilary Becker.
p. cm. — (Religions in the Graeco-Roman world ; v. 166)
English and French.
Includes bibliographical references and indexes.
ISBN 978-90-04-17045-2 (hardback : alk. paper)
1. Etruscans—Religion. 2. Etruria—Antiquities. I. Turfa, Jean MacIntosh, 1947– II. Gleba, Margarita. III. Becker, Hilary.
BL813.E8V68 2009
299'.9294—dc22

2008036977

ISSN 0927-7633
ISBN 978 90 04 17045 2

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PRINTED IN THE NETHERLANDS

mi Jean MacIntosh Turfa *le zich mlach mlakasi*

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JEAN MACINTOSH TURFA—AN APPRECIATION

Biography

Jean MacIntosh Turfa was born in Philadelphia and spent the early years of her life in the nearby suburbs, graduating from Abington High School. Even in those early days, she became active in archaeology, chiefly at Native American and colonial sites in Pennsylvania. She graduated from Gwynedd-Mercy College (Gwynedd Valley, Pennsylvania) and received Ph.D. in Classical Archaeology and Latin from Bryn Mawr College (1974). For her dissertation project she traveled to the sites of Phoenician and Punic colonies around the Mediterranean in order to research Etruscan-Punic Relations, a project that contrasted Aristotle's description of the treaties between Carthage and the Etruscan cities with the realities of trade goods found in Etruria and the Punic world. She has participated in excavations in the United States, United Kingdom, Italy and Greece. She has taught at the University of Liverpool, University of Illinois at Chicago, Loyola University of Chicago, Drexel University, Saint Joseph's University, Dickinson College, Bryn Mawr College and the University of Pennsylvania. In addition to her extended periods of residence in Italy and Greece as a graduate student, she has also been based in The Netherlands (Leiden) and in the United Kingdom (Manchester) before her return to the Philadelphia area. She has been an Honorary Curator at The Manchester Museum, and worked on collections in the Liverpool Museum and the British Museum. Most recently (2003), she was Curatorial Consultant for the newly reinstalled Kyle M. Phillips Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology and her catalogue of the Etruscan collection was published in 2005. Jean MacIntosh Turfa is one of a very select number of scholars in the United States who are Foreign Members of the Istituto di Studi Etruschi ed Italici.

Scholarship and mentorship

Jean Turfa's interests are both broadly constructed and deeply probing, as anyone who knows her (or has studied with her) can attest. Working from a scholarly framework constructed on her own research into the

way the Etruscan world interacted with its Mediterranean neighbors, she has gone on to explore questions of Etruscan religion and ritual practice, with the aim of sparking new inquiry into fundamental aspects of the Etruscan civilization.

Jean Turfa usually undertakes topics that have received very little previous exploration that require a truly interdisciplinary approach, which even today remains quite uncommon in Classical archaeology. Thus, her collaboration with engineer Alwin G. Steinmayer Jr. on roof construction and ship building has produced a series of important articles and a forthcoming book, while her work with physical anthropologist Marshall Becker is pushing the frontiers of Etruscan osteology. In her pioneering work on anatomical votives she has delved into medicine and recently wrote a review of ancient DNA investigation with which a molecular biologist would be more than satisfied.

One element that unites her myriad work is the careful attention that is always paid to every piece of evidence—Jean Turfa's approach is such that each individual object or issue receives full treatment, as reviewers have remarked. Francesca Serra Ridgway observed, in a review of Turfa's catalog for the Etruscan gallery at the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology,

> All this J. Turfa has done with truly remarkable competence and skill, both in the individual entries and in the introductory chapters (1–60), deploying the most recent international scholarship (the list of references [298–308], all relevant, is impressive) to produce the maximum of information in the most readable of styles: it is extraordinary today to find a single scholar capable of such a feat (393).[1]

Reading Turfa's catalogue grants one as full an understanding of the collection as can be hoped for, with each object's current state (and past history) meticulously presented.

Another important aspect of Jean Turfa's scholarly activities regards academic reviews, which she uses in a didactic way, to such an extent that her reviews of scholarship approach the threshold of being new contributions themselves. The thorough attention Jean pays to a volume she reviews both pays a compliment to the author and serves as a treat for the reader in that she generously provides copious background bibliography and information to help contextualize the title under review.

---

[1] F. R. Serra Ridgway. 2006. Review of *The Etruscan Gallery of the University of Pennsylvania Museum*, by J. M. Turfa. *JRA* 19: 393–395.

For many students of ancient Italy, her reviews of complex scholarship often provide a valuable starting point for navigating new contributions to the field.

This thorough approach has also become part of the experience and scholarly practice of the students Jean has mentored during her career. Her students profit from her instructional approach throughout, using the material she presents in class to construct their own multi-faceted understanding of the Etruscan world. While trying to furiously transcribe notes Jean regaled us with about the ancient Etruscans and Phoenicians, we were both humbled by her acumen and exhilarated by the realization that there was still so much to think and write about antiquity—and Jean has never intimidated or belittled students, rather she prefers to lift them up and set them on their own trajectory of understanding.

Jean Turfa is a scholar with integrity who is willing to share, collaborate and advise on any matter—a fact to which many of the signators of the *tabula gratulatoria* can testify. The generosity of her spirit is such that nothing is excluded from it: it extends to her students, former students, colleagues, peers, abandoned cats and creatures of all kind. Indeed, Jean Turfa is a singular person and scholar. This volume is a small token of appreciation, respect and admiration inspired by and intended for her.

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EDITORS' PREFACE

The Etruscans were deemed 'the most religious of men' (Livy 5.1) by their Roman successors and it is hardly surprising that the topic of Etruscan religion has been explored for some time now. Nevertheless, the first substantial general work on the subject in English, *The Religion of the Etruscans* edited by Nancy de Grummond and Erika Simon, appeared only in 2006. One of the most important chapters in this volume is "Votive offerings in Etruscan religion", written by Jean MacIntosh Turfa. On her 60th birthday, we offer this volume on votives, places and rituals in Etruscan religion.

While conceived as a Festschrift, the volume aims at addressing specific areas of Etruscan research, thereby complementing *The Religion of the Etruscans* and the new translation of J.-R. Jannot's *Religion in Ancient Etruria* (2005). It is intended mainly for scholarly audience and will be of particular interest to Etruscologists, scholars of ancient religion and culture, and also to classicists and ancient historians and archaeologists.

The studies collected in this volume are written by archaeologists, historians, art historians, philologists and anthropologists, reflecting the wide range of approaches that permeate the work of Jean MacIntosh Turfa. All of them, however, deal with various aspects of Etruscan religion, a topic that has bean at the heart of Jean Turfa's research from the very beginning.

Each essay is a separate chapter with footnotes and bibliography. We have attempted to be consistent, while keeping the individual authors' styles, including their choice of American or British orthography and punctuation. We have decided to keep the two French articles in their original language. Our thanks go to non-English speakers for writing or translating their contributions in English.

In the bibliographies and footnotes, we have followed the style and abbreviations of the *American Journal of Archaeology*. Latin and Greek sources are abbreviated according to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*. For the abbreviation of Etruscan inscriptions the authors followed H. Rix, *Etruskische Texte* (1991). All quotations of secondary sources are given in their original language. Common abbreviations are provided in a separate list. For the spellings used for the names of gods and major

Etruscan cities we followed as much as possible *The Religion of the Etruscans*, edited by N. T. de Grummond and E. Simon (2006).

The following chronological periodization is employed in this volume:
Iron Age/Villanovan—1000–750/700 BCE
Orientalizing—750/700–600 BCE
Archaic—600–475/450 BCE
Classical—475/450–300 BCE
Hellenistic—300–first century BCE

We thank all the authors for their dedication and patience and for helping us to express our appreciation of and admiration for Jean with this volume even while advancing the discipline of Etruscology. We also thank Jeffrey Becker for his valuable suggestions; Alexander Turfa for helping to keep the Festschrift a secret and providing important biographical information about Jean; and all the signators of the *tabula* for responding with such enthusiasm.

Margarita Gleba and Hilary Becker, Editors

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Ingrid Edlund-Berry has taught at the University of Georgia and the University of Texas at Austin. Her excavation experience includes Poggio Civitate (Siena), Metaponto, and Morgantina. Her publications include *The Gods and the Place: Location and Function of Sanctuaries in the Countryside of Etruria and Magna Graecia (700–400 BCE)* (Stockholm 1987), *The Seated and Standing Statue Akroteria from Poggio Civitate (Murlo)* (Rome 1992), with Lucy Shoe Meritt, *Etruscan and Republican Roman Mouldings* (New York and Rome 2002), with John Kenfield and Giovanna Greco, *Deliciae Fictiles III* (Oxford 2005), and *The Central Sanctuary at Morgantina: Problems of Interpretation and Chronology* (in preparation).

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Margarita Gleba obtained her B.S. in biology and art history from Rutgers University. Her M.A. and Ph.D. degrees are from the Department of Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology at Bryn Mawr College, where she studied under the supervision of Jean Turfa. Her principal field of research is textile archaeology. She has excavated at several Etruscan sites in Italy and is Associate Director of the Poggio delle Civitelle archaeological field school. She is currently Research Programme Manager at the Centre for Textile Research at the University of Copenhagen, where she is working on Bronze and Iron Age textiles from Denmark. Her forthcoming books are *Textile Production in pre-Roman Italy*, *Dressing the past: costume through 21st century eyes* and *Designed for Life and Death* (all by Oxbow Books).

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Stephan Steingräber, an "Etruscanized" German from Munich, studied Classical Archaeology, Etruscology, Ancient History and Prehistory in Germany and Italy. He worked at the German Archaeological Institute in Rome and taught at the Universities of Munich and Mainz in Germany, at the University of Tokyo in Japan and at the Universities of Roma Tre, Padova and Foggia in Italy. He was visiting professor in Denmark, Italy and the United States and is currently Professor of Etruscology at the University of Roma Tre. His publications include deal with topics concerning Etruscan and South Italian topography, tomb architecture and painting, votive terracottas and furniture. He is a member of the Istituto di Studi Etruschi e Italici in Florence, of the Accademia Etrusca in Cortona and the German Archaeological Institute in Berlin.

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Iefke van Kampen, born in the Netherlands, took a degree in Etruscology and Italian antiquities at the University of Rome "La Sapienza" with a Master's Thesis on the Excavation of Giacomo Boni of the habitation levels at the Sepolcreto Arcaico site in the Forum Romanum (1995). Currently, she is Director of the Museo dell'Agro Veientano, Formello, Italy. Her specialization dealt with museology and museo-

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Gregory Warden received a B.A. in Anthropology from the University of Pennsylvania and M.A. and Ph.D. degrees in Classical and Near Eastern Archaeology from Bryn Mawr College. His research ranges from Greek archaeology and art (the Demeter sanctuary at Cyrene, Greek vases in the Madrid Museum), to Roman architecture and display (Villa of the Papyri, Domus Aurea), to Etruscan archaeology, archaeometallurgy, and ritual. Warden is the founder of the Mugello Valley Archaeological Project and excavations at Poggio Colla. He is editor of *Etruscan Studies*, and is currently working on a book on the archaeology and social landscape of Etruscan Italy.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC ABBREVIATIONS

ActaInstRomFin	*Acta Instituti romani Finlandiae*
AION	*Annali di Archeologia e Storia Antica. Annali dell'Instituto Orientale di Napoli*
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology*
AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History*
AJN	*American Journal of Numismatics*
AnaRom	*Analecta Romana Instituti Danici*
AnnFaina	*Annali della Fondazione per il Museo "Claudio Faina"*
AnnPisa	*Annali della Scuola normale superiore di Pisa*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*
AntCl	*L'Antiquité classique*
AntP	*Antike Plastik*
ArchCl	*Archeologia Classica*
ArchLaz	*Archeologia Laziale*
AttiMGrecia	*Atti e memorie della Societa Magna Grecia*
AW	*Antike Welt*
BABesch	*Bulletin Antieke Beschaving*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*
BdA	*Bollettino d'arte*
BdI	*Bullettino dell'Istituto di corrispondenza archeologica*
BMCR	*Bryn Mawr Classical Review*
BollArch	*Bollettino di archeologia*
BPI	*Bollettino di paleontologia italiana*
BSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens*
BullCom	*Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*
CCJB	*Collection du Centre Jean Bérard*
CIE	*Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum*
CP	*Classical Philology*
CSE	*Corpus Speculorum Etruscorum*
CSVI	*Corpus delle Stipi Votive in Italia*
DialArch	*Dialoghi di Archeologia*
EAA	*Enciclopedia dell'arte classica e orientale*
EJA	*European Journal of Archaeology*
ES	*Etruskische Spiegel*, edited by E. Gerhard, G. Klugmann and G. Körte, 5 vols., 1840–1897. Berlin.

ET	*Etruskische Texte. Editio minor, I: Einleitung, Konkordanz, Indices, II: Text*, edited by H. Rix, 1991. Tübingen.
EtrStud	*Etruscan Studies*
GaR	*Greece and Rome*
HSCP	*Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae*
JAS	*Journal of Archaeological Science*
JFA	*Journal of Field Archaeology*
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies*
LTUR	*Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, edited by E. M. Steinby, 1993–1999. Rome.
Meded	*Mededeelingen van het Nederlands Historisch Instituut te Rome*
MEFRA	*Mélanges d'archéologie et d'historie de l'École française de Rome, Antiquité*
MonAnt	*Monumenti antichi*
NC	*Numismatic Chronicle*
NRIE	*Nuova Raccolta di Iscrizioni Etrusche*
NSc	*Notizie degli scavi di antichità*
ÖJh	*Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Instituts in Wien*
OpRom	*Opuscula Romana*
OWNA	*Old World Archaeology Newsletter*
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PP	*La Parola del Passato*
QArchEtr	*Quaderni del centro di studio per l'archeologia etrusco-italica*
RA	*Revue archéologique*
RBPhil	*Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*
REE	*Rivista di Epigrafia Etrusca*
RE	*Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike*, edited by H. Cancik and H. Schneider, 1996. Stuttgart.
REL	*Revue des études latines*
RendAcadNazLinc	*Rendiconti di Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei*
RendNap	*Rendiconti dell'Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti, Napoli*
RendPontAcc	*Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia.* Rendiconti

RHR	*Revue de l'histoire des religions*
RM	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*
ScAnt	*Scienze dell'Antichità*
StEtr	*Studi Etruschi*
TAPA	*Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*
ThesCRA	*Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum*
TLE	*Testimonia linguae etruscae*, edited by M. Pallottino, 1968. Florence.
VAMZ	*Vjesnik Arheološkog Muzeja u Zagrebu.*

Map 1. Etruscan cities and their territories. Map by Tom Elliott (Ancient World Mapping Center, www.unc.edu/awmc) and Hilary Becker. Territorial boundaries after L. Bonfante, ed., 1986, *Etruscan Life and Afterlife*, with modifications. Reconstruction of ancient coastline following W. V. Harris (Maps 41 and 42) and N. Purcell (Map 44) in R. J. A. Talbert, ed., 2000, *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World*.

INTRODUCTION

Hilary Becker and Margarita Gleba

A bronze axe, shield and *lituus* (trumpet) were discovered in an early 7th century BCE deposit in front of the temple at Pian di Civita at Tarquinia (Bonghi Iovino and Chiaromonte Treré 1997). These implements were carefully folded before they were buried, provoking a number of questions pertinent to archaeologists and historians alike: how were these objects used? Why were they ritually "killed" before their deposition? How do they compare to objects at other Etruscan sites, as well as those outside Etruria, that have been folded in a similar way or altered before they were deposited? On one level, these instruments serve as key points of stratigraphic information to be recorded carefully. But what is important for archaeologists and historians alike not to forget is that someone, at some point in time, dedicated these objects, thus causing them to be in the spot where they were found. The axe, the shield and the *lituus* from Pian di Civita are all material traces of a human action defined as ritual.

In the interpretation of artifactual evidence we often see a means to reconstruct human behaviors of the distant past, and in few contexts are those behaviors as multifaceted as in the ritual context. For, in the simple act of devotion, the dedicant makes an offering that, in its own way, is a transaction between the mortal and the divine; for those seeking to understand not only the action of the dedicant, but the society in which he or she lived, the object given becomes much more than a token and is in fact a powerful tool for unraveling the past.

A ritual is a repeated action carried out with intention, according to a prescribed or evolved tradition that develops within a family, community or society. Habitual actions such as these can be found in a variety of contexts in antiquity—both sacred and profane—whether they refer to religious rituals conducted by a priest or a worshipper, an offering made to the dead by a family member, a formal food-sharing or a banquet. The rituals developed by a society encompass some of its core religious beliefs and as such are important clues for understanding a society as a whole.

For scholars of the ancient Mediterranean world, Greek, Latin and Etruscan textual sources have offered invaluable evidence for ancient religious thought and practice and have long stood as the primary source of much religious and historical scholarship. While these sources continue to aid our understanding of ancient ritual, they do not convey the entire picture. They may offer prescriptions on holidays or the genealogy of a god, but they may not explain all the activities that took place at a sacred precinct or at the graveside. Ritual can best be mapped by uniting a range of disparate and often overlapping information, including not only ancient textual sources but also inscriptions, votive objects and the sites themselves.[1]

There are different ways to investigate and reconstruct the rituals of a given population. Perhaps one of the more useful tools for studying ritual is to look for evidence of the material that is a by-product of ritual behavior. Rituals can be associated with a range of physical evidence, including both stationary (e.g. altars, benches, hearths) and moveable objects (e.g. lamps, bells, censers, ex-votos, etc.). Remnants of food consumption or the osteological remains of animal (or human) sacrifice may also provide evidence for ritual. The location of the ritual is likewise of paramount importance for reconstructing it, especially since the arrangement, and even the intentional deposition or breakage of ritual objects within the area of a given site can inform us about the physical activity of ritual and worship.

Admittedly, many aspects of ancient belief systems do not find expression in material culture but, on another hand, we should consider how we read the evidence when it does survive. In the case of votive dedications, for example, some of the objects that may come to be dedicated were originally used in daily life. Thus it is important to ask whether we can always tell the difference between the daily and the ritual use of an object. Even the role of the ritual equipment itself could change over time, for an object used as a censer could be taken out of use and dedicated to the god, as an offering.

It is fortuitous when physical markers of ritual behavior are left behind, such as ritual offerings or when we have a figural depiction of a ritual act in the form of sculpture, painting or coroplastic art. And yet many rituals that are carried out physically, such as prayers, songs,

[1] On the archaeology of ritual, see Barrett 1991; Renfrew 1994; Whitehouse 1996; Bell 1997; Insoll 2004; Kyriakidis 2007; Fogelin 2007.

dances, the recitation of texts, processions, are often not discernable in the archaeological record. So while we will glean as much as possible from a myriad of different types of sources, it is important to remember that we may never be able to reconstruct some aspects of physical ritual and ceremony.

With these caveats in mind, archaeological evidence, iconographic, textual and epigraphic sources, along with varied methods of investigation offer important tools and a broader context for reconstructing ancient rituals. Even though the process of reconstructing the ritual behavior from strictly an archaeological point of view is not always easily accomplished, nevertheless, the potential benefits of such a study are great, as ultimately rituals can provide invaluable information about the society that participated in these rituals.

Etruria offers an exceptional opportunity to probe the extent of ritual practices in the ancient world, because of the diverse range of evidence available for the study of Etruscan religion. The Etruscans enjoyed a reputation in ancient times for their religious practices and indeed Livy wrote that the Etruscans were deemed 'the most religious of men' (Livy 5.1). It is hardly surprising, then, that the topic of Etruscan religion has long been a subject of intense and prolific study.

As the honoree of this volume has observed, "there is plenty of sound and cautious scholarship on Etruscan religion now available, from monographs to compendia" (Turfa 2008).[2] To name the most recent ones, Jean-Rene Jannot's *Religion in Ancient Etruria* (2005) and *The Religion of the Etruscans* edited by Nancy T. de Grummond and Erika Simon (2006) provide comprehensive overviews of Etruscan religion, based on combined literary, archaeological and artistic evidence. Our understanding of Etruscan gods and their mythologies has also been expanded by the publication of *Etruscan Myth, Sacred History and Legend* by Nancy T. de Grummond (2006) and Larissa Bonfante and Judith Swaddling's *Etruscan Myths* (2006). L. Bouke van der Meer's detailed study of the text of the Zagreb mummy, *Liber Linteus Zagrabiensis. The Linen Book of Zagreb. A Comment on the Longest Etruscan Text* (2007) updates what we know about this unparalleled source and provides comparisons

[2] For summaries of scholarship and full bibliographies, see Pallottino 1975, Bonfante 1986 and de Grummond 2006b. For approaches to the study of ritual in Italy, see Wilkins 1996. The following volumes are reviewed by Carpino 2006; Powell 2007; Warden 2007; Griffith 2007.

to all major Etruscan texts.[3] The *Thesaurus Cultus et Rituum Antiquorum* (*ThesCRA*) (2004–2006) also offers many contributions dealing with various iconographical and archaeological aspects of Greek, Roman and Etruscan religion.

The collection of essays that follow offers a contribution to the continued study of Etruscan religion and daily life. The papers explore specific questions about Etruscan ritual: Who were the dedicants that left inscribed votives at the temples? To what gods did they give tribute? What is the evidence for mortuary ritual? Was a priest distinguished by a special costume and what did a sacrificing worshipper wear? How did the ritual sphere impact its community on the social and economic level? What were some of the basic rituals, whether sacred or profane, with which an Etruscan, whether rich or poor, would have been familiar? Etruscan ritual is approached here through different case studies, considering mortuary customs, votive rituals and other religious and daily life practices.

Mortuary ritual is one of better investigated subjects in the archaeology of ritual, often due to the nature of the material (cf. Parker Pearson 2001; Rakita *et al*. 2005). In Etruria, burial archaeology has been a primary focus for a long time, but new aspects of Etruscan funerary customs are being addressed now. For example, numerous interpretations of the symbolic nature of grave goods have been put forward that actively reconstruct social order and identity (e.g. Bietti Sestieri 1992; Damgaard Andersen 1993; Riva 1999). The monumental quality of elite Etruscan burials offers the opportunity to investigate the spatial organization of the mortuary cult through the study of funerary sculpture and architecture (e.g. Steingräber 1997; Izzet 1996; Steingräber and van Kampen in this volume). Mortuary ritual can be investigated further by studying the processes of body internment, such as cremation and inhumation (Iaia 1999, 113–116; M. Becker in this volume), as well as ritual practices accompanying the interment, such as sacrifice and banqueting (Pontrandolfo 1995).

Votive religion is another highly important aspect of Etruscan religious life. Votive gifts offered a tanglible connection between mortals and the supernatural (Osborne 2004). In Etruria, votive objects included pottery, anatomical models, bronzes, terracottas, coins and *aes rude*

[3] Reviewed by Turfa 2008.

(Turfa 2006a).[4] The object to be dedicated could be created for the purpose or it could be 'converted' to be used as an offering from daily use. The places where dedications could be made also varied: votive offerings were left in local shrines, temples at federal sanctuaries or even in far away places (Naso 2000; Gran-Aymerich in this volume). Whether humble or grandiose, gifts to gods could be marked with an inscription providing us with a glimpse of who dedicated them and to whom they were dedicated (Colonna 1990; Briquel and H. Becker in this volume).

Less obvious in the archaeological record but at least partly illustrated by the written sources are other kinds of religious and every day rituals, such as divinatory practices (augury, haruspicy, brontoscopy), curses, city or building foundation rituals and banquets. Thus, the recent re-analyses of the brontoscopic calendar of P. Nigidius Figulus, preserved in a Byzantine Greek translation (Turfa 2006b and 2007), and the *Liber linteus zagrabiensis* (van der Meer 2007 and in this volume) provide a means to add to our knowledge about the *etrusca disciplina* from Etruscan sources.

While the papers brought together in the present volume are formally organized into the three categories of votives, places, and rituals, in actuality these topics represent three sides of a larger phenomenon and indeed the interests of many of the papers overlap. The first section deals with a range of different votive objects. These papers explore how, by whom, and where these votives were used. Jean Gran-Aymerich considers Etruscan products found outside Etruria. He provides an overview of Etruscan products found in the western Mediterranean that show the presence of Etruscan commerce, and, at times, the presence of the Etruscans themselves, in different regions. After documenting the extent of the interconnections, Gran-Aymerich focuses on bucchero because this ware is clearly used as a votive material in sacred contexts. He believes that certain sets of bucchero, which were not found in known sacred contexts, might nevertheless have been prized votive objects.

Dominique Briquel on the other hand focuses his investigations on a single site, examining the numerous votive inscriptions from the Portonaccio Temple at Veii. This context offers a rich and unparalleled opportunity to understand votive practice, for the objects that

[4] *Corpus delle Stipi Votive in Italia* series gives excellent morphological and typological account of material.

were dedicated give us insight into the identities of quite a number of dedicants at this important sanctuary. Briquel's study concentrates on 20 legible names from votive inscriptions, providing onomastic information and the clear impression that donors came from various areas of Etruria. A few donors are well-known from other inscriptions and are clearly members of the higher aristocratic levels, who practiced ceremonial gift exchange and were proud of displaying their sumptuous offerings. Furthermore, this epigraphic evidence demonstrates the international significance of the Portonaccio sanctuary.

A third approach is taken by Margarita Gleba who concentrates on a particular class of votives, textile tools, and offers an extensive survey of the different ways that these implements could be used as ex-votos by cultures all over Italy. While pottery, terracotta figurines, bronzes and anatomical votives from votive deposits have been subject to extensive studies, this important class of votive objects has never been considered as a group. Gleba's investigation reveals that textile implements such as loom weights, spindle whorls, and needles were not only used in votive deposits, but also in foundation deposits (in Sicily) and can also provide evidence for the presence of textile workshops within the sanctuary complex itself.

The second section concerns the various places associated with Etruscan religious practices, both in the realm of the living and in connection to burial rituals. The first three papers focus on Etruscan sanctuaries and dedicatory behavior.

Hilary Becker investigates the Etruscan temple as an economic institution, considering some of the many activities that occurred there. In particular, she focuses on the social function of the votive dedications made there, viewing the sanctuary as an important forum in which elites and indeed entire communities could advertise their social status and personal resources, while at the same time paying proper religious reverence. The sanctuary also fulfills a necessary socio-economic role within its community, in that it could act as a center of redistribution.

Ingrid Edlund-Berry questions whether the Etruscan temples themselves could have been votive offerings. While historical or epigraphical evidence can allow us to see how and why a temple was founded as a dedication in the Roman sphere, there is less comparable evidence available for Etruscan foundations. Edlund-Berry thus considers what is known about various Etruscan temples in terms of their chronology and

layout. She reasons that while it may not be possible to identify named 'founders' of such temples and sanctuaries, in certain circumstances it is possible to connect the existence of some temples to specific historical events and general peaks of activity within the context of a city.

Gregory Warden presents new evidence for dedicated objects from Poggio Colla thereby providing the opportunity to understand votive behavior within a specific context. Warden reviews a number of votive deposits that have been found in or near the sanctuary on the acropolis of this settlement. For example, one deposit contained a large amount of bronze items, some of which appeared to have been deliberately cut up and possibly burnt. This deposit and many others, which are votive in nature, attest to votive religion at Poggio Colla from the Archaic period to the site's destruction, and they physically document destruction rituals previously suspected from historical sources.

The next two papers examine physical aspects of Etruscan funerary cult. Stephan Steingräber looks at the architectural evidence for a cult of the ancestors by focusing on the Cima Tumulus at San Giuliano as well as other comparable sites. His review of funerary markers such as cippi attempts to define what were the focal points for funerary rituals.

Iefke van Kampen concentrates on funerary sculpture found in and around the tombs and representing mortals, gods, or animals. Through the painstaking collection of evidence for the original locations of the sculptures, she demonstrates how they might have served as indicators of boundaries and focal points in the funerary context. Furthermore, the positioning of the sculpture may have been based on the Etruscan cosmological map.

The last section probes the limits of what we can reconstruct when it comes to ritual in Etruscan religion. These contributions examine different types of sources for ritual behavior with their inherent biases. All of them, however, provide evidence that allows us a glimpse of specific religious behaviors, practices, customs and beliefs.

Gilda Bartoloni presents recently excavated evidence of ritual behavior from Populonia during the late 8th–early 7th centuries BCE. The discovery of nearly 100 cups in a building interpreted as 'the king's house' has implications for understanding the history of this area, for it seems as though a banquet took place before the building was abandoned. While the evidence seems to indicate that ritual behavior occurred, it may not have been religious ritual behavior. Bartoloni's

paper explores what we know about how deposits can be ritually used to mark the end of a building and for what cultural reasons a ritual such as the consumption of wine might have been useful.

Next, Nancy de Grummond's paper explores the ritual breakage of mirrors, objects which are still imbued with superstition to this day. de Grummond brings together all of the extant mirrors that have been broken, inscribed with magical formula or otherwise mutilated. The number of such mirrors and their distribution across space and time is sufficient to argue that the mutilation of mirrors was a significant ritual phenomenon in Etruria. de Grummond's paper delineates the extent of this ritualistic behavior, showing how mirrors could be inscribed (and thus dedicated for the tomb), or folded, gauged or even hammered. This paper provides insight into Etruscan beliefs about the power of reflective surfaces as magical pathways to the afterlife.

Larissa Bonfante reviews the available evidence for Etruscan religious and ritual dress. While the available sources for ritual dress (whether archaeological, iconographical or literary) can be limited and biased, it is nevertheless important to probe which costumes might have had ritual meaning among the Etruscans. In particular, Bonfante discusses the costumes and attributes of priests and priestesses, as well as the costumes that were reserved for special ceremonies and situations. Interestingly, some of the costumes used by officiants in Roman religion can be detected in Etruscan art. For example, the apex of the distinctive hat (the *galerus*) of the *flamines* bears a similarity to the twisted hat of the Etruscan haruspex, thus showing the survival of certain features of Etruscan ritual dress over time.

While Bonfante's paper focuses on priests and priestesses, Fay Glinister seeks to understand a particular element of costume, the veil, and the ways that it was used by different cultures in central Italy for rituals of sacrifice. In order to probe this question, Glinister studies ritual costume by looking at terracotta votives. Her paper explores the commonly-held belief that veiled terracotta votive heads can be interpreted either as proof of a Roman presence, or of Roman influence on religion in the sanctuaries of fourth-third century BCE Central Italy. This Romano-centric bias towards seeing the Romans as the religious innovators of using a veil during sacrificial rituals obscures the fact that this custom was not unique to the Romans and not even used during all ritual occasions by the Romans. Glinister questions the extent to which these votives, and indeed veiled sacrifice, represent uniquely Roman custom. She concludes that such terracotta votives are neither characteristically

Roman in form, nor in origin, since the epicenter of their use seems to lie in Etruria, suggesting instead that ritual behavior in Central Italy was modified (but not 'Romanized') as a result of mutual interactions between 'conqueror' and 'conquered'.

Bouke van der Meer surveys the *Liber linteus zagrabiensis* in order to reveal the wealth of information about Etruscan ritual and deities that can be gleaned from this important text. van der Meer gives linguistic information about the origin of the text and comments on several key passages that shed light on the nature of the text. In his review of the different gods that are mentioned in the text, van der Meer considers the words *Lur* and *Zer*, both of which he believes are minor deities previously unknown to scholarship.

Finally, Marshall Becker demonstrates the quantity and quality of information that can be observed from osteological remains for our understanding of cremation burial ritual. Marshall Becker surveys the use of cremation over time in Villanovan and Etruscan society, making note of class distinction in terms of burial container and the cremation process. He focuses on an adult female cremation that was found relatively intact in a cooking pot buried outside of a chamber tomb in Tarquinia. While so much of the history of Etruscan dead centers around the elite, this burial offers the opportunity to understand better the cremation and burial processes used for people of lower status. While osteological evidence has not often been taken into consideration in Etruscan studies, it is clear that these remains can provide invaluable information about mortuary ritual, especially insofar as the very different ways that the elite and other classes were buried and commemorated after death.

While the papers in this volume are organized according to the overarching topics of votives, places and rituals, there is a considerable amount of overlap and interchange between them. Thus, Stephan Steingräber, Iefke van Kampen and Marshall Becker all make significant contributions to the understanding of ritual in the funerary realm, each using different methodologies and bodies of evidence. Their inquiries inform us further as to the ways that architecture, sculpture and burial remains can help us understand the rituals that the living performed for the dead.

Many of the studies in this volume focus on votive dedications from a number of different perspectives, thus providing a range of case studies on this important topic. Some of these papers, such as those by Gran-Aymerich, Gleba and Glinister, concentrate on the votives themselves.

From their papers it is clear that a detailed study of votive objects can offer potentially valuable information for our understanding of the beliefs and religious practices of the Etruscans. Furthermore, Hilary Becker and Edlund-Berry both consider whether the temples themselves were votive dedications, arriving at divergent conclusions. Other papers focus on the individuals who donated the votives. These studies range from the microscopic, such as Briquel's study of the individual names, to more macroscopic views, such as the papers by Hilary Becker and Warden that consider the social function of ritual behavior.

Although the papers of Warden, Bartoloni and de Grummond cover very different subjects, they all document the ritual burial of objects. These papers demonstrate that an object could intentionally be buried and removed from circulation, and that in some cases (such as those presented by Warden and de Grummond) the object was defaced, broken, burned or rendered unusable before burial. The life of the object was thus ended so that the sacred function that it served could not be undone by later reuse. Thus it seems that there is increasingly ample testimony for the ritual destruction of objects in Etruria.

The papers of Glinister, Bonfante and Gleba all reveal the ways that costume can be used for ritual purposes, whether to clothe a worshipper, priest or a votive statue. It can also be observed that priests and worshippers, such as those described in Bonfante's and Glinister's papers, would have probably utilized texts such as the *Liber linteus*, which van der Meer presents, so that they could perform their duties on the proper days. In turn, the ritual garments and books could have been produced in the sanctuary textile workshops discussed by Gleba.

Although the studies in this volume focus on different aspects of Etruscan ritual, all make marked use of a combination of archaeological, textual, epigraphical and iconographical evidence from the Etruscan as well as the Greek and Roman worlds. Furthermore, several of the papers touch upon the differences and similarities between Etruscan, Greek and Roman attitudes towards specific rituals. Edlund-Berry, Gleba, Bartoloni and Glinister use their material to point out important intercultural comparisons, reminding us that even in ancient times nothing existed in isolation.

Reconstructing the past is never an easy task. Reconstructing past beliefs and rituals is even more challenging. But the interdisciplinary approaches of contributors to this volume demonstrate the different pathways which lead us towards understanding ritual that was once familiar.

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PART ONE

VOTIVES

CHAPTER ONE

'GLI ETRUSCHI FUORI D'ETRURIA': DONS ET OFFRANDES ÉTRUSQUES EN MÉDITERRANÉE OCCIDENTALE ET DANS L'OUEST DE L'EUROPE

Jean Gran-Aymerich

La diffusion d'objets étrusques en Méditerranée et en Europe: épaves, habitats, tombes et sanctuaires[1]

Les découvertes étrusques localisées loin de la péninsule Italique et de la mer Tyrrhénienne, tant en Méditerranée qu'en Europe continentale, constituent une vaste documentation pour la période comprise entre le VIII[e] et le IV[e] siècle avant notre ère, période considérée comme la grande époque des "Étrusques au-dehors de l'Étrurie".[2] Dans cette large diffusion d'objets étrusques, on reconnaît traditionnellement trois grands espaces géographiques aux caractéristiques spécifiques:

1. La Méditerranée occidentale et l'aire du détroit de Gibraltar jusqu'à Huelva offrent un nombre considérable de gisements qui ont livré des objets étrusques, avec une remarquable concentration sur l'arc catalano-provençal. On constate pour cette distribution maritime un large éventail de produits: principalement, des vases céramiques (bucchero, céramique étrusco-corinthienne, *impasto*), des amphores de transport, des bronzes, ainsi que plusieurs inscriptions, des ivoires, des monnaies et indirectement des denrées périssables (vin et huile, mais aussi des parfums et vraisemblablement des tissus). On constate encore dans ces régions occidentales une ample variété de sites archéologiques: épaves, habitats indigènes, fondations coloniales

[1] Nous sommes très heureux de pouvoir nous joindre à l'hommage collectif rendu à Jean MacIntosh Turfa et de rappeler ici sa contribution à l'étude des rapports entre l'Étrurie et Carthage.

[2] Voir dernièrement parmi les travaux collectifs l'ouvrage qui porte ce titre: Camporeale *et al.* 2001. Voir aussi: Gori 2002; Gantès 2002; Della Fina 2005.

grecques et phéniciennes, tombes, trouvailles isolées,[3] et, comme nous allons le voir, plusieurs témoignages d'offrandes.[4]

2. L'hinterland celtique et, dans une moindre mesure, l'intérieur de la péninsule Ibérique ont livré un ample répertoire d'objets métalliques étrusques et italiques provenant dans leur grande majorité de tombes aristocratiques. Il s'agit principalement de vases de bronze et d'ustensiles de banquet, mais aussi d'objets de parure, d'armes et, pour l'Espagne, de coffrets d'ivoire. De toute évidence, la présence de ces objets étrusques dans la péninsule Ibérique se situe dans la prolongation d'un transport maritime. Par contre, le monde celtique a connu un double système de distribution: l'un exclusivement terrestre, à partir de l'Étrurie padane et des cols des Alpes, et l'autre maritime par le Midi de la France. En effet, "l'isthme gaulois" offre des caractéristiques remarquables, que nous avons qualifiées "d'exception de la Gaule", car intervient ici la conjonction du réseau exclusivement terrestre et du réseau maritime de l'arc catalano-provençal qui se prolonge vers l'intérieur, suivant des modalités et des fluctuations chronologiques qui restent en grande partie à approfondir.[5]
3. La Méditerranée orientale et la mer Noire, ainsi que le nord des Balkans et l'Europe orientale présentent des découvertes sporadiques, dont on retient surtout les objets de bronze découverts dans la plupart des grands sanctuaires du monde grec, en particulier à Delphes, Olympie, Égine et Samos.[6]

Dans le cadre de cette vision générale, nous présentons ici une série de cas, qui permettent de nuancer l'absence apparente en Occident d'objets étrusques parmi les offrandes dans les sanctuaires, ou dans les lieux à caractère sacro-institutionnel. Les cas envisagés ici se classent en quatre catégories:

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[3] Pour les épaves avec du mobilier étrusque depuis le littoral étrusque jusqu'au Midi de la Gaule: Cristofani et Pelagatti 1985; Gori 2002; Gantès 2002; Egloff et Ramseyer 2005. Pour les épaves avec du mobilier étrusque sur le littoral ibérique: Musso et Remesal Rodríguez 1991; Vives Ferrandiz 2005 et Vives Ferrandiz (sous presse).

[4] Nous envisageons ici la Méditerranée occidentale en dehors du noyau de la péninsule Italique et des îles (Corse, Sardaigne et Sicile). Pour ces derniers secteurs, des objets étrusques sont attestés dans les sanctuaires, comme c'est le cas à Sélinonte, pour le sanctuaire de la Malophoros, ou à Gela, pour le sanctuaire de Bitalemi. Voir avec bibliographie: Cristofani 1983, 51; Gras 1985, 184, 484–500, 513.

[5] Parmi les dernières publications: Gran-Aymerich 2006a–d; Gori 2002; Della Fina 2005.

[6] Gras 1985, en particulier 681–701, "Les Tyrrhéniens et les sanctuaires"; Camporeale *et al.* 2001; Naso 2006a et Naso 2006b; Bellelli et Cultraro 2006.

A. Objets étrusques découverts sur les sites de sanctuaires récemment fouillés ou en cours de fouille: à La Algaida à l'embouchure du Guadalquivir et à Barzan dans l'estuaire de la Gironde.
B. Objets étrusques à caractère votif (statuettes) ou objets (vases, bronzes) présentant une inscription étrusque qui rend vraisemblable leur valeur de don ou offrande, comme à Marseille, Ampurias et Carthage.
C. Les offrandes ou dons d'objets étrusques probables à Saint-Blaise, dans les Bouches-du-Rhône, et à Malaga en Andalousie.
D. Les statuettes étrusco-italiques authentifiées dans l'hinterland celtique et vraisemblablement à caractère votif. Ce dossier complexe, ouvert à plusieurs reprises, comporte surtout des trouvailles anciennes d'une identification difficile. Nous nous bornerons à rappeler le cas de la statuette découverte près de Vézelay et du sanctuaire des Fontaines-Salées en Bourgogne.

A. *Présence de bronzes étrusques dans les sites de sanctuaires*

La Algaida, embouchure du Guadalquivir: l'éphèbe applique de trépied

Le lieu-dit La Algaida se situe dans la commune de Sanlucar de Barrameda, province de Cadix, à l'embouchure du fleuve Guadalquivir (Fig. 1, no. 1), sur le parcours maritime de Gadir (Cadix) vers les deux principaux sites d'accès aux navires de Tartessos: Séville et Huelva. A la suite de nombreuses découvertes fortuites, on engagea à La Algaida les campagnes de fouille des années 1970–1980. Ont été alors mises au jours des structures quadrangulaires, identifiées comme des "chapelles" ou "trésors", et plusieurs milliers d'objets pour la plupart à caractère votif: principalement des fibules, des entailles et une série de trouvailles métalliques, incluant des barrettes d'argent à caractère pré-monétaire et plusieurs dépôts de monnaies. L'ensemble des trouvailles couvre la période comprise entre le VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C. et l'époque romaine impériale.[7] Le sanctuaire a été identifié à celui de la *Lux Dubia* de Strabon (III.1.9), correspondant au culte de la Vénus protectrice des navigateurs

[7] Corzo Sanches 1991. Alors que certains datent du II^{e} siècle av. J.-C. l'abandon du sanctuaire, qui aurait été remplacé par un habitat; l'analyse serrée des trouvailles numismatiques permettrait de suivre la fréquentation du sanctuaire jusqu'au II^{e} siècle ap. J.-C., suivie d'une période d'abandon et d'une réoccupation par un habitat au IV^{e} siècle: Lopez De La Orden et Blanco Jimenez 2000, 488.

et également à celui de Thesan-Leucothea du sanctuaire de Pyrgi.[8] Parmi les nombreuses trouvailles du sanctuaire, quelques-unes suggèrent des productions étrusques, dont plusieurs fragments de statuettes,[9] un pendentif d'or, des pieds de ciste et la figurine d'applique d'un éphèbe (Corzo Sanchez 1991, lam. IV–XII). Les objets clairement reconnus comme étrusques sont les pieds de ciste et surtout la figurine d'applique (Fig. 2).[10] Cette dernière représente un éphèbe allongé, appuyé sur un bras plié et s'identifie avec certitude à un élément de trépied produit à Vulci vers 500 av. J.-C.[11] Ce trépied est à rapprocher d'un autre objet complet du même type découvert lors d'une prospection sous-marine au large d'Agde, ainsi qu'à la griffe d'un trépied inscrit découvert à Ampurias et dont il sera question plus loin.[12]

Barzan, estuaire de la Gironde: l'anse de bassin

Au Moulin du Fâ, commune de Barzan, en Charente-Maritime (Fig. 1, no. 2), sont en cours de fouille un sanctuaire gallo-romain et une cité portuaire, correspondant vraisemblablement à la *Novioregum*, qui se trouve sur le parcours de *Burdigala* (Bordeaux) à *Mediolanum Santonum* (Saintes).[13] Sous le sanctuaire gallo-romain, ont été identifiées des structures fossoyées quadrangulaires et des aires de circulation datées des V^e^–IV^e^ siècles. L'occupation du site à cette période a été considérée comme "compatible avec un contexte d'habitat", bien que la découverte de fragments de fourreaux, de bouterolles, de tôles ondulées en fer, de fibules, d'une agrafe de ceinture et de plusieurs objets de pres-

[8] A propos de ce dernier rapprochement: Colonna 2006a, 14, note 33. Lopez De La Orden et Blanco Jimenez 2000, avec une étude des trouvailles numismatiques. Le site a été fouillé entre 1978 et 1984 et n'a pas fait l'objet d'une étude finale.

[9] Une petite tête, un bras plié et un pied qui présentent des similitudes avec les bronzes étrusques tardo-archaïques Colonna 2006a, 14, note 34, qui suggère la possibilité d'*ex votos* anatomiques.

[10] Colonna 2006a, 22, fig. 2, 4; Botto et Vives-Ferrandiz 2006, 180, fig. 11; Gran-Aymerich 2006c, 255–257 et Gran-Aymerich 2007.

[11] Il ne s'agit donc pas d'une "asa de la tapadera de una cista": Corzo Sanchez 1991, 408. Morel 1981, 467, note 12; Colonna 2006a, 14, fig. 3–4; Botto et Vives-Ferrandiz 2006, fig. 11. Pour l'étude typologique de l'objet: Riis 1997, 60, note 127, fig. 57 et 102.

[12] Colonna 2006a, fig. 2; Gran-Aymerich 2006c, fig. 14–15; Botto et Vives-Ferrandiz 2006, fig. 11, 22. Pour le trepied d'Agde: Torelli 2000, 557 no. 54.

[13] Pour une présentation générale du site, des fouilles et du projet de valorisation du site: Robin et Lorenz 2006.

tige pourrait suggérer la présence d'un sanctuaire.[14] Dans ces niveaux de La Tène ancienne ont été en effet découverts des tessons attiques, dont l'un daté de la fin du V^e^ siècle, et une anse en bronze de bassin étrusque (Fig. 3).[15]

Cette anse conserve deux longues volutes horizontales, terminées l'une en boucle et l'autre par un bouton floral conique, surmontées par les pieds d'une figurine d'attache brisée et au-dessous par une large palmette avec rivet central, qui fixait l'anse à la paroi du vase. Il s'agit d'un bassin large et peu profond, d'un type de lébès bien connu en Étrurie à la fin du V^e^ siècle et au début du IV^e^ siècle (Adam 2003, 64 fig. 37). Cet objet est pratiquement identique à l'anse de Saintes-Gemmes-sur-Loire, découverte en 1847 au confluent de la Maine et de la Loire, et est à rapprocher de l'anse de Borsdorf dans le secteur du site de Glauberg dans la Hesse.[16]

Les découvreurs de l'anse de Barzan, considérant que ce type de trouvaille provient habituellement d'un contexte funéraire, n'excluent pas l'hypothèse d'une tombe à proximité. Nous proposons aussi de ne pas écarter la possibilité d'une pérennité du sanctuaire dans ce secteur, qui présente des structures parfaitement superposées. Dans l'attente des résultats des travaux en cours, il faut retenir que d'ores et déjà cette découverte stratigraphiée authentifie celle de l'anse de Saintes-Gemmes-sur-Loire et confirme la diffusion des bronzes étrusques jusqu'aux grands bassins fluvio-maritimes de la Gaule occidentale.

B. *Les offrandes étrusques de Marseille, d'Ampurias et de Carthage*

Le chantier du Collège Vieux-Port à Marseille et l'inscription étrusque sur une amphore massaliète

L'opération de fouille de 2005 sur le chantier Collège Vieux-Port a permis de mettre au jour, au cœur de la vieille ville de Marseille (Fig. 1,

[14] De fait, ce site est absent de la liste des principaux sanctuaires préromains et augustéens de l'ouest de la France établie à la fin des années 1980: Gomez De Soto 1991, 126–132, carte 132.

[15] Robin, Soyer 2003; Milcent 2006b, 330–331, carte fig. 2.

[16] Provost 1983; Boucher 1986; Santrot et Meuret 1999; Jannot 2006, 81–82, fig. 54, qui la considère comme un surmoulage d'un "atelier de seconde zone" et la date vers 380. Pour l'anse de Borsdorf: Kimmig 1990; Shefton 1995, fig. 9.

no. 3), au pied de la butte Saint-Laurent, plusieurs constructions datées du VI^e^ et du V^e^ siècle av. J.-C.[17] Des maisons datées du deuxième quart du VI^e^ siècle ont été rasées vers 540–530, pour construire un grand bâtiment rectangulaire de 12 mètres sur 8 mètres, divisé en deux espaces identiques et avec plusieurs constructions adossées. Les niveaux de destruction de ces espaces au V^e^ siècle ont livré des enduits peints et un ensemble de vaisselle et d'amphores d'une qualité tout à fait exceptionnelle par rapport aux découvertes déjà faites dans l'habitat grec domestique. L'ensemble a été interprété comme le témoignage d'un espace de banquet public, *dining room*. C'est dans ce contexte qu'a été découverte une inscription tronquée étrusque (Fig. 4). Le texte a été tracé sur la partie haute d'une amphore à vin fabriquée à Marseille même, à la fin du VI^e^ siècle. Il s'agit d'une inscription écrite de droite à gauche, dont la fin peut se lire…*ve*, ce groupe étant précédé d'une lettre dont il ne subsiste que deux traits obliques.[18] D'autres inscriptions étrusques découvertes récemment à Marseille ou dans l'épave du Grand Ribaud F ont été interprétées comme des marques de propriété ou liées à la production et à la commercialisation de vases étrusques (Long, Gantes, Rival 2006; Colonna 2006b, 678 pl. I–II). Tel n'est pas le cas de cette inscription apparemment longue, aux traits larges et soigneusement gravés sur la partie la plus visible d'une amphore locale, trouvée dans un espace de caractère politique et rituel. Ce texte étrusque de Marseille présente une grande similitude avec celui d'une inscription étrusque gravée sur une coupe laconienne du troisième quart du VI^e^ siècle et trouvée dans les fouilles du sanctuaire d'Aphaia à Égine. Ce dernier texte, dont la graphie renvoie à Caeré, pourrait témoigner de la participation d'un Étrusque à un repas rituel (Cristofani 1994, 159–162. Voir aussi: Colonna 1993; Naso 2006a, 373). L'inscription du Collège Vieux-Port témoignerait aussi d'une cérémonie, au cours de laquelle un étruscophone aurait pu faire hommage à une assemblée de convives du vin contenu dans ce récipient.

[17] La description de ce chantier et de l'inscription sont extraites de: Briquel, Gantes, Gran-Aymerich et Mellinand 2006.

[18] Colonna propose de lire "…*thve*…" et de l'interpéter "…celui d'ici…" en référence non pas au vase mais au contenu: Colonna 2006b, 676.

Ampurias en Catalogne: le trépied avec inscription étrusque et les deux statuettes

Le site d'Ampurias (Fig. 1, no. 4) est le premier de la péninsule ibérique où a été reconnue avec certitude la présence d'objets étrusques. Cette fondation coloniale grecque d'Occident, exceptionnellement bien conservée et explorée, présente la plus importante quantité et la plus riche variété d'importations étrusques de la péninsule Ibérique. Ampurias, mais aussi l'habitat proche d'Ullastret, qui est le principal site ibérique de ces rivages, ont livré, en plus des vases étrusques les plus habituels (bucchero, amphores, céramique étrusco-corinthienne), des trouvailles tout à fait hors du commun en dehors du territoire italien. Il s'agit par exemple de la tasse étrusco-corinthienne *a maschera humana* du milieu du VI^{e} siècle, trouvée avec plusieurs autres vases complets dans un *hallazgo cerrado* de Ullastret, au Puig de Sant Andreu; c'est aussi le cas pour la tête de lion interprétée comme une "pièce de char étrusque" ou encore le miroir gravé avec le jugement de Pâris de la fin du IV^{e} siècle, provenant tous deux de tombes d'Ampurias.[19] Plus au sud, dans la province de Tarragone, on a signalé la découverte isolée d'une pièce de monnaie étrusque.[20]

Parmi les trouvailles étrusques exceptionnelles d'Ampurias, trois nous semblent correspondre à des offrandes. Les deux premières font partie des découvertes faites au début du XX^{e} siècle et sont des statuettes de type étrusco-ombrien: un guerrier nu et un personnage tronqué, vraisemblablement une femme drapée (Fig. 5–6), qui sont datées de la fin du VI^{e} siècle et des débuts du V^{e}.[21] La troisième pièce est apparue lors des fouilles de 1987, dans le secteur du sanctuaire d'Esculape, dans l'aire méridionale de la cité grecque. Il s'agit d'une griffe de trépied (Fig. 7), dont l'une des faces latérales porte de manière très visible l'inscription *car*, et qui peut dater de la fin du quatrième siècle. Les lettres sont profondément gravées, mais en l'absence d'un examen minutieux de l'objet, on ne peut affirmer si cette gravure a été effectuée sur l'objet

[19] Pour la tasse étrusco-corinthienne et le miroir: Musso et Remesal Rodríguez 1991, 97; Pallottino 1992, no. 300 et 303, 259–260; Sanmarti, Asensio, Aurora Martin 2006, 200 fig. 7.2. Pour ce dépôt d'Ullastret: Almagro Gorbea 1989, 1151, propose de reconnaître un ensemble funéraire qui a livré plusieurs vases complets dont un canthare en bucchero, la tasse *a maschera* étrusco-corienthienne et une amphore étrusque: Arribas 1961. Pour la présence à Ullastret d'une exceptionnelle imitation d'oenochoé étrusco-corinthienne: Donati 1991. Pour la tête de lion en bronze, voir l'analyse critique et les références bibliographiques dans: Castellanos Roca 1996, 91–93, fig. 13.

[20] Pour la monnaie de Tarragone: Asensi 1990.

[21] Castellanos Roca 1996, 89–90, fig. 10–11, avec bibliographie antérieure.

fini ou si l'inscription, comme il semble d'après la photographie, a été tracée sur le modèle avant la fonte (Sanmarti-Greco 1999, V fig. no. 8). Le caractère ostentatoire de cette inscription la différencie nettement des caractères ou signes isolés à l'arrière de certaines pièces de bronze, comme c'est le cas pour le trépied d'Agde.[22]

Carthage: la statuette de korè de Dar-Seniat[23]

L'Afrique du Nord offre une très importante concentration de découvertes étrusques sur le site de Carthage (Fig. 1, no. 5), qui contraste, par le nombre ainsi que par la variété et la qualité de certains des documents, avec les trouvailles sporadiques de céramique étrusque enregistrées sur l'ensemble de la rive méridionale de la Méditerranée: en effet, des vases noirs en bucchero (la plupart du VI^{e} siècle) ont été signalés avec certitude à Naukratis, avec quelque vraisemblance à Tocra et restent à confirmer à Karnak, alors que vers l'Occident, on a noté la présence de bucchero à Utique et à Tipasa, où il reste cependant à confirmer.[24] De Gouraya, Gunugu à 150 km à l'ouest d'Alger, provient un exceptionnel disque en bronze inscrit (sorte de *tessera hospitalis*) en caractères étrusques, d'époque républicaine.[25] Carthage donc occupe la première place pour la question des relations entre l'Étrurie et l'Afrique. Ce dossier a été ouvert à la fin du XIX^{e} siècle, par la découverte des premiers objets étrusques dans les nécropoles de Carthage, et celle d'objets de facture orientalisante (les faïences par exemple) parallèlement trouvés dans les tombes d'Étrurie méridionale et de Carthage.[26]

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[22] Torelli 2000, 557, no. 54, "sul retro di uno dei soggetti una lettera incisa potrebbe corrispondere alla nona lettera dell'alfabeto etrusco". Pour les inscriptions sur les bronzes étrusques, le cas particulier de la jambe de félin: Cygielman 1990, 58–61, avec bibliographie.

[23] Je remercie très vivement M. Ghalia, conservateur en chef au Musée du Bardo, pour l'amical accueil qu'il m'a accordé, ainsi que pour les recherches auxquelles il a fait procéder dans les réserves du Bardo et pour les nouvelles photographies de la korè qui sont présentées ici.

[24] La présence de bucchero à Utique (Turfa 1977, 370, no. 94) et à Tipasa (von Hase 1992 (1989), 327, note 2, d'après une information orale de M. Torelli) reste non confirmée. La présence de céramique étrusco-corinthienne à Leptis Magna est erronée, voir Frere 2006, 253, carte fig. 3.

[25] Pour le disque de Gouraya: Briquel 2006, avec bibliographie. Le cas de Malte est bien entendu particulier: Bonanno 1993. Pour les trouvailles étrusques en Méditerranée orientale, voir en particulier: Gras 1976 et Gras 1985, 651–680, 674 pour la boucle de ceinturon rectangulaire en bronze du British Museum et trouvée en Cyrénaïque; von Hase 1992 (1989), 327–328, note 2, fig. 27; Naso 2006a.

[26] A ce propos: Gran-Aymerich (sous presse).

Cette problématique a progressé autant du point de vue archéologique qu'historique, relancée notamment par la découverte en 1964 des feuilles d'or écrites en étrusque et en punique à Pyrgi (aujourd'hui Santa Severa), le principal sanctuaire portuaire de Caeré (l'actuelle Cerveteri, à 45 km au nord-ouest de Rome).[27] Dernièrement, les campagnes de fouille internationales ont fait croître le nombre des objets étrusques de Carthage et ont élargi le spectre chronologique étendu désormais sur une longue période, comprise entre la fin du VIII[e] siècle et la période hellénistique.[28]

À Carthage, les céramiques étrusques—recueillies dans les nécropoles réparties de Byrsa à Sainte-Monique et Bordj-Djedid—présentent une large variété, dont plus d'une centaine de vases complets et une trentaine de types principaux.[29] Pour l'habitat, les fouilles récentes dans le quartier de Magon ont révélé de très anciennes amphores de transport étrusco-italiques (les ZITA-Amphoren du type 5, tyrrhéniennes et proto-étrusques) et des amphores spécifiquement étrusques, ainsi que des céramiques étrusco-italiques non tournées (*impasto non tornito*) et surtout des vases de table étrusques tournés: peints (étrusco ou italo-géométriques, étrusco-corinthiens et à figures rouges pour les plats du type Genucilia du IV[e] siècle) ou monochromes (*impasto tornito* et bucchero).[30] Le fait que ces céramiques étrusques, d'une large variété, soient attestées en quantité restreinte incite à voir dans ce phénomène plus que la résultante du

[27] Parmi l'ample bibliographie suscitée par ces découvertes: Pallottino 1964; Heurgon 1965: Ferron 1972; Huss 1985; Lancel 1992, 100–108.

[28] Colozier 1953; Ferron 1966; Turfa 1974, Turfa 1977 et Turfa 1986; Morel 1981; Thuillier 1985; von Hase 1992; Niemeyer 1992; Niemeyer, Docter *et al.* 1993; Rakob 1992; Lancel 1992 et Lancel 1995; Docter *et al.* 1997; Docter 2000, Docter 2005, Docter 2006 et Docter 2007; Mansel 1999, Mansel 2005 et Mansel 2006.

[29] Ces vases sont conservés aux musées du Bardo et de Carthage; nous-mêmes avons identifié deux vases de Carthage inédits au Musée du Louvre: Gran-Aymerich 1982, pl. 15.3–4, inv. AO 3208, 55–56; Gran-Aymerich 1983, fig. 1.c–d, 78–79. Pour les vases des tombes de Carthage voir principalement: Boucher Colozier 1953; Cintas 1976, fig. 45a, réunissant le mobilier punique et étrusque d'une tombe de Douïmés; Turfa 1974 et Turfa 1977; Morel 1981; Gras 1985; Thuillier 1985; von Hase 1992, fig. 2, 331; von Hase 2004, 73–77. Pour une étude d'ensemble sur les nécropoles de Carthage: Benichou-Safar 1982.

[30] Je remercie très cordialement Hans-Georg Niemeyer et Roald Docter, dont l'amitié ne s'est jamais démentie depuis déjà des nombreuses années, pour les informations fournies sur l'état de leurs travaux en cours. von Hase 1992 (1989), fig. 2, Arealen A1, A3 et A7; Docter et Niemeyer 1994, 109; Mansel 1999, Mansel 2005 et Mansel 2006; Docter 2006. Pour la diffusion précoce en Méditerranée occidentale des céramiques de Sardaigne que l'on trouve aussi à Carthage: Botto 2006.

seul commerce, mais plutôt le témoignage résiduel ou complémentaire de complexes et intenses relations étrusco-puniques.[31]

Outre le mobilier céramique, Carthage a fourni des documents étrusques dont la présence hors du territoire tyrrhénien est tout à fait extraordinaire: ainsi, la statuette en bronze de korè recueillie dans le remplissage des citernes de Dar-Seniat (Fig. 8a–e), conservée au musée du Bardo, que nous examinerons plus loin. C'est le cas aussi pour la plaquette d'ivoire de forme animale (sanglier) inscrite en étrusque sur le revers, conservée au musée de Carthage. Cette *tessera hospitalis* étrusque du milieu du VI^e^ siècle a été trouvée dans une tombe de la nécropole Sainte-Monique et a appartenu à un *Puinel Karthazies* (un Punique de Carthage), qui aurait été reçu en Étrurie méridionale.[32] Le cippe funéraire en forme de colonnette, sans lieu de découverte précis et longtemps déposé au jardin du tophet mais aujourd'hui transporté au musée de Carthage, est d'un type très caractéristique des tombes de Caeré.[33] Ce cippe, daté du IV^e^ siècle ou du début du III^e^, serait contemporain des plats peints cérétains du type Genucilia de la nécropole de Sainte-Monique, où ont été fouillées une grande partie des tombes hellénistiques.[34] Importée ou taillée sur place, cette pièce atteste l'ensevelissement d'un Étrusque à Carthage.[35] Ce petit monument, dont il manque la partie sommitale, trouve d'autres parallèles hors de Caeré, dans la nécropole de Casabianda, à Aleria en Corse.[36] Non moins extraordinaire a été la

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[31] Ces objets pourraient manifester la présence de dames étrusques de haut rang, dans le cadre de mariages mixtes correspondant à des échanges ou encore l'existence d'une petite communauté d'Étrusques à Carthage.

[32] Delattre 1899, 104; en dernier avec bibliographie: Maggiani 2006, 319–321, fig. 1.1, 2.1, qui souligne que l'inscription offre les caractéristiques propres à Tarquinia ou plus probablement Vulci.

[33] Le sommet est fracturé et la hauteur conservée est de 50 cm, le diamètre à la base de 32,5 cm: Pallottino 1964, 114 (= *Saggi di Antichità* I, 1979, 393, pl. VIII.1); Turfa 1974 et Turfa 1977, 369, note 2; Blumhofer 1993, 190–194, type IIb (avec le compte rendu critique de Naso 1993), 200; von Hase 1996, 189 et von Hase 2004, 79, 76.

[34] Pour le cippe et les plats de type Genucilia: Morel 1980, 29, 38, 65, 71; Jolivet 1980; von Hase 1996, 188–189 fig. 1–3, avec bibliographie. Pour le marquage des tombeaux à Carthage avec des stèles funéraires (en majorité dans le secteur des Rabs à Sainte-Monique) et la différenciation des stèles votives des sanctuaires: Delattre 1899 et Delattre 1900; Cintas 1976, 359–360.

[35] von Hase 1996, 194, note 26, qui souligne l'intérêt qu'il y aurait à procéder à une analyse pétrographique du monument et relève d'autres exemples de transport de monuments funéraires étrusques en marbre.

[36] Pour les 29 cippes d'Aleria, sans inscription comme c'est le cas pour l'exemplaire de Carthage: Jehasse 1973, nécropole de Casabianda, tombe 87, 26, 28, pl. 167, 420; von Hase 1996, 193, qui remarque l'exemplaire en marbre de la tombe 87, du premier quart du IV^e^ siècle. D'autres cippes à colonnette ont été trouvés à Spina et Marzabotto: von Hase 1996, 191, note 14, avec bibliographie.

découverte, dans le quartier de Magon, d'empreintes de cachet sur des pastilles d'argile durcies par le feu, ultime témoignage des lettres et des manuscrits, qui étaient entreposés dans les bibliothèques carthaginoises: trois de ces cachets pourraient correspondre à des sceaux d'origine étrusque.[37] Parmi les oenochoés en bronze de Carthage datées de la fin du VII^{e} au IV^{e} siècle, on distingue quatre catégories principales: le type "rhodien" orné de motifs orientalisants (palmette, aureus, masque hathorique); les exemples avec anse plastique anthropomorphe; ceux qui présentent une anse surélevée avec l'attache inférieure ornée d'un masque; enfin, le modèle à long bec (*Schnabelkanne*) dont l'attache inférieure de l'anse est ornée d'une palmette "à ancre" ou "à serpents". Alors que le type "rhodien" représenté par l'objet bien connu provenant d'une tombe de Byrsa serait de production carthaginoise, les objets avec anse plastique[38] et les oenochoés avec anse en boucle surélevée et masque sur l'attache inférieure seraient de production étrusque ou de Grande Grèce.[39] Quant aux *Schnabelkannen*, de production clairement étrusque, Carthage en a fourni au moins sept exemplaires datés de la fin du VI^{e} et du début du V^{e} siècle, offrant avec Aleria la plus importante concentration de vases métalliques étrusques recueillis hors d'Italie en Méditerranée occidentale.[40] Les sarcophages à gisant trouvés dans la nécropole des Rabs à Sainte-Monique constituent un autre dossier particulièrement complexe: ils manifestent, par leur volume et la qualité des sculptures ou des peintures qui ornent leurs couvercles, l'un des aspects monumentaux

[37] Berges 1993, 253, 255, pl. 67.4–6; von Hase 2004, 78, qui note le caractère exceptionnel de ces trois sceaux vraisemblablement étrusques parmi les 1437 empreintes examinées. Sur les premières découvertes de nombreuses pastilles d'argile avec empreintes de cachets dans les champs de la partie basse de Carthage: Cintas 1970, 304, note 213; Sznycer 1969, 141–142 figs.

[38] Picard 1959; Cintas 1976, 319 fig. 48, et Jimenez Avila 2002, fig. 30 et fig. 59.15 pour l'exemplaire de Byrsa, pl. 81.1; Fantar 1982, 77 no. 99, pour l'exemplaire avec deux personnages masculins antithétiques qui forment l'anse. Pour les oenochoés de type rhodien: Jacobsthal 1929; Shefton 1979; Rolley 1987; Jimenez Avila 2002, 53–55, fig. 29. L'hachette-rasoir, provenant de Kerkouane et conservée au Musée du Bardo, constitue un objet de bronze de qualité, appartenant peut-être aux productions locales de style grec ou étrusquisant: cette pièce est ornée d'une sirène aux ailes déployées surmontant une palmette, d'une facture analogue à celles qui se trouvent sur les anses des vases métalliques étrusques des V^{e}–IV^{e} siècles: Fantar 1982, fig. p. 46.

[39] Picard 1959. La nécropole de Sainte-Monique, secteur des Rabs, aurait fourni la plus importante concentration d'oenochoés des V^{e}–IV^{e} siècles avec masques sur l'attache inférieure de l'anse: "le R. P. Delattre signale qu'en trois mois, il a trouvé quinze aiguières": Cintas 1976, 373, note 952, pl. 81.6–8.

[40] Reinecke 1932, 217 et Reinecke 1933, 52; Bouloumié 1973, 169–170, 231, 287, 301; Cintas 1976, 340–341, fig. 55, pl. 81.2; von Hase 1992 (1989), 378, fig. 32, pl. 33, et 2004, 78, fig. 25–28b.

de la Carthage punique. De plus, ces objets suscitent la question des influences stylistiques exercées à l'époque hellénistique entre les cités de Tarquinia et de Carthage.[41] A ces éléments exceptionnels s'ajoutent les trois cippes inscrits en étrusque (dont deux sont conservés au musée du Bardo) contemporains d'un bornage d'époque républicaine (fin du II^e^ siècle ou début du I^er^), découverts dans la plaine de Tunis entre 1907 et 1915, dans le secteur de Bir-Mcherga sur la vallée du Miliane, à une cinquantaine de kilomètres au sud-ouest de Carthage et 8 km à l'est de Thuburbo Maius.[42] Ils apportent un témoignage précieux: "si l'on songe qu'il s'agissait d'Étrusques profondément romanisés, qui ne recouraient à l'étrusque que dans un sursaut de nationalisme révolté".[43]

Quant à la statuette étrusque, une korè d'époque archaïque finale, qui nous intéresse plus particulièrement ici, elle fut découverte en 1910, par J. Renault au lieu dit Dar-Seniat, ou Trik Dar-Saniat, dans le Vallon de la Briqueterie au sud de Sidi Bou-Saïd, lors des fouilles d'une villa romaine.[44]

Cette statuette représente une jeune femme vêtue d'un long chiton collant, dont elle tient un long pli de sa main gauche, tandis que, du bras droit tendu vers le sol, elle avance légèrement la paume de la main ouverte dans un geste de salutation.[45] Les manches de la robe lui arrivent au-dessus du coude et le bras gauche est dégagé du corps. Le cou est orné d'un collier, dont le minutieux décor est nettement visible, de même que l'indication de la longue chevelure ondulée, retenue par un diadème, tombe en arrière jusqu'au creux des reins. Il s'agit sans aucun doute d'une korè étrusque tardo-archaïque, de la fin du VI^e^ siècle ou du début du V^e^, d'abord identifiée comme de production méridionale (Caeré ou Véies), puis reconnue comme produite en Étrurie septentrionale, peut-être à Volterra.[46]

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[41] Bissing 1933, 119–129; Colozier 1953; Cintas 1976, 377–381, pl. LXIII–LXV, LXVII, 2–3.

[42] Heurgon 1969a (= *Scripta Varia* 1986, 433–447); Sordi 1991; von Hase 1996, 194, note 25; Briquel 2006, 59.

[43] Heurgon 1969a (= *Scripta Varia* 1986, 446).

[44] Cintas 1976, carte II, fig. 3, 63, avec l'emplacement de la "maison Renault à Trik Dar Saniat"; Lancel 1992, fig. 72 et 74.

[45] Hauteur: 10.5 cm; largeur aux épaules: 2.8 cm.

[46] Colozier 1952, 59–65; Ferron 1966, 700–709, pl. XXIV; Turfa 1977, 369, n. 91; Richardson 1983, 272, no. 26 et 306, n. 26, fig. 720–730; von Hase 1992, 378, pl. 32.IIIa–c; von Hase 2004, 77, 78 fig.

Dans les premières publications, le fouilleur des citernes de Dar-Seniat avait réuni plusieurs figurines et manches de bronze figurés d'époques diverses, provenant du remplissage de ces installations hydrauliques romaines:[47] or, cette statuette ne présente aucun rapport avec le reste du groupe et l'hypothèse d'un lot homogène d'époque romaine, le pseudo "laraire d'Apulée", est une proposition désormais abandonnée (Colozier 1952, 61; Morel 1981, 488, note 114). Considérant le caractère votif de cette statuette, le plus vraisemblable est qu'elle provienne des remblais des environs, transportés lors du comblement des citernes à l'époque tardo-romaine, remblais qui devaient inclure certains éléments d'une *favissa*. De telles *favissae* auraient été découvertes à Carthage, par exemple à la lisière du plateau de Bordj-Djedid dans le secteur de la nécropole de Sainte-Monique, secteur des Rabs.[48]

La korè de Dar-Seniat est le plus bel exemple de bronze votif étrusque, parmi les très rares cas de figurines indépendantes, et non des appliques de vases ou de trépieds, localisées loin du territoire étrusque.[49] Bien qu'il ne s'agisse pas, selon nous, d'une représentation de divinité mais d'une donatrice, le lien avec un culte féminin, peut-être celui d'Uni-Turan, Venus-Aphrodite ou Astarté, nous semble le plus vraisemblable (Colozier 1952, 63). Sa présence à Carthage doit remonter à la fin du VI^{e} ou au début du V^{e} siècle correspondant probablement à un moment

[47] Merlin 1910; Renault 1912, 543; id. Renault 1913a et Renault 1913b; Merlin 1921, 140–142, no. F367–375; Colozier 1952; Ferron 1966, fig. 24; von Hase 1992 (1989), fig. 32.III, et von Hase 2004, 78 fig.

[48] Sur la *favissa* du secteur de Bordj-Djedid: Delattre 1923a et Delattre 1923b; Cintas 1976, 133 et plan M, fig. 63, et pour l'emplacement du fort de Bordj Djedid au sud de la nécropole de Ard el-Khéraib, fig. 56, 344. Dans ce même secteur de la nécropole Sainte-Monique, on signale une statuette isolée "qui n'a que 4,045 cm de hauteur et qui représente un personnage avec un bras écarté du corps": Cintas 1976, 373; Delattre 1901, 590 fig. 6A–B.

[49] Nous évoquons ici même les fragments de statuette du sanctuaire de La Algaida, qui a livré un fragment de trépied étrusque de Vulci (Fig. 1, no. 1), nous examinons les deux exemples d'Ampurias (Fig. 1, no. 4 et Fig. 5–7), et enfin rappelons le lourd dossier des statuettes de la Gaule interne par l'exemple de Vézelay-les Fontaines-Salées (Fig. 1, no. 8). Dans le hinterland ibérique on note la présence de figurines de bronze étrusques, mais, jusqu'ici il s'agit toujours de statuettes d'applique: Fernandez Gomez 1991; Gran-Aymerich 2006c et 2007. En Méditerranée orientale, face au grand nombre de *anathemata* étrusques (pour le moins 250 bronzes étrusco-italiques entre armes, objets de parure, vases et ustensiles, voir Naso 2006a et 2006b) une seule statuette, peut-être étrusque, a été signalée dans le sanctuaire de Delphes et pourrait dater du VII^{e} siècle: Rolley 1969, no. 174, et 51, 96 et 154, note 5, pour des références d'ordre iconographique; Gras 1976, 350–351, qui fait référence à l'une des statuettes du dépôt attribué à Thorigné-en-Charnie (Mayenne); il écarte l'origine étrusque pour la statuette du satyre ithyphallique de Dodone, 351, note 46; Gras 1985, 675.

où les relations étrusco-puniques étaient déjà anciennes et intenses (Pallottino 1963; Heurgon 1969b; Gran-Aymerich en préparation).

C. *Les probables offrandes étrusques de Saint-Blaise et de Malaga*

Un sanctuaire intra-muros à Saint-Blaise, Bouches-du-Rhône et une probable dédicace à Uni

Le Midi de la France a livré dernièrement une petite mais très importante série d'inscriptions étrusques, parmi lesquelles l'exceptionnelle plaque de plomb de Pech Maho près de Narbonne, datée du deuxième quart du V^e^ siècle; alors que l'une des faces présente un texte grec, l'autre comporte un texte long d'environ 25–30 mots étrusque sans lien avec l'autre. L'inscription étrusque fournit la première mention épigraphique de *Matalia* (Marseille) et offre des affinités avec les inscriptions d'Aleria en Corse.[50] Les graffites de Lattes, exécutés sur des vases étrusques (bucchero tardif, *impasto*) aux formes utilitaires (écuelles, bols), ont permis de lire des prénoms féminins en caractères étrusques et d'identifier ainsi la présence de femmes étrusques dans ce comptoir portuaire avec très probablement un sanctuaire, au pied du site de *Substantion* (Montpellier).[51] Pour Marseille, nous avons déjà mentionné plusieurs graffites, dont celui trouvé au chantier du Collège Vieux-Port, qui correspondrait à une offrande rituelle pour un banquet. Le site de Saint-Blaise, commune de Saint-Mitre-les-Remparts, situé entre Istres et Martigues, au fond d'une série d'étangs accessibles à la navigation jusqu'à l'époque pré-romaine, a fourni la plus importante concentration de céramiques étrusques du Midi et un nombre de graffites que la révision des vieux fonds tend à faire croître (Colonna 2001).[52] La dernière découverte épigraphique importante correspond à un document de Saint-Blaise (Fig. 1, no. 6), publié dans le recueil des céramiques

[50] Cristofani 1995. Colonna 1981 et Colonna 2006a, voir aussi la vision d'ensemble sur les inscriptions du Sud de la France: Colonna 2006b.

[51] Colonna 1980 et Colonna 2006. La présence d'un sanctuaire à Lattes est suggérée par la très récente découverte d'une statue de guerrier archaïque, datée du début du V^e^ siècle, Py *et al.* 2006, 608, pl. V, peut-être celle d'un archer: Cherici 2006, 413, pl. IX.f.

[52] Pour le site de Saint-Blaise voir Bouloumié 1984 et Bouloumié 1992, ainsi qu'en dernier: Gantes 2003; Frere 2006.

grecques de ce site. Il s'agit d'un fond de coupe attique à vernis noir et pied bas, une "Castulo Cup" qui peut se dater vers 450 et dont le graffite présentait des difficultés de lecture.[53] Or, la relecture proposée en dernier par G. Colonna permet de reconnaître une inscription étrusque rédigée dans l'alphabet ionien utilisé à Marseille: "*mi uni pi fit*[....]". Il s'agirait d'une dédicace à la déesse Uni: "l'unica testimonianza fuori d'Etruria di un culto, verosimilmente privato, rivolto alla grande dea etrusca, il cui maggior santuario era quello di Pyrgi".[54] Nous voudrions rappeler ici, que les derniers travaux de fouille et de prospection effectués sur ce haut-lieu de la protohistoire provençale (dans les années 1970–1980), ont révélé des éléments architecturaux remployés dans les constructions hellénistiques, qui suggèrent l'existence sur la partie haute de Saint-Blaise d'un sanctuaire indigène, comparable à ceux de Roquepertuse, Entremont et Glanum.[55] Par ailleurs, des bassins étrusques en bronze auraient été signalés dans des sanctuaires du Midi, comme à Plérimond, Aups dans le Var, et peut-être aussi à Eyguières dans les Bouches-du-Rhône (Arcelin 2000, 95; Arcelin et Brunaux 2003, 187 fig. 99).

Le sanctuaire de l'Alcazaba de Malaga et deux probables offrandes: l'anse d'oenochoé étrusque et la plaque d'ivoire (de Carthage?)

Le littoral de Malaga (Fig. 1, no. 7) offre la plus importante concentration d'importations étrusques de l'Andalousie méditerranéenne, dont les trois sites-clés sont Toscanos à l'embouchure du Vélez, Cerro del Villar à l'embouchure du Guadalhorce et Malaga à l'embouchure du Guadalmedina (Gran-Aymerich *et al.* 1991; Aubet 1994). C'est à Malaga qu'a été découvert, sur le versant sud de l'Alcazaba, le bronze étrusque de la meilleure qualité, parmi ceux qu'a fournis la péninsule

[53] Bouloumié 1992, 89, 266 no. 96, fig. 72–73, qui note que, de l'avis de M. Lejeune, il pouvait s'agir d'une pseudo-inscription ou d'une inscription ligure écrite en étrusque.

[54] Je remercie vivement Giovanni Colonna qui a eu la gentillesse de me fournir les prémices de son travail. Colonna 2006a, 12; Colonna 2006b, 667–668, fig. 6, pl. Ic.

[55] Il s'agit principalement de l'identification d'un grand nombre de stèles ("une centaine") lisses ou à décor géométrique, ainsi que des éléments monolithes appartenant à des portiques: linteaux, piliers dont certains creusés d'alvéoles: Bouloumié 1984, 91 fig. 2, 92 fig. 1–3; Bessac, Bouloumié 1985. Voir aussi: Arcelin, Brunaux 2003, 191–202. Des murs de fondation monumentaux ont été découverts lors de l'ouverture de notre tranchée de reconnaissance (en 1977–1980), sur le secteur du Plateau, qui domine la Ville Basse et l'étang de Lavalduc: Bouloumié 1984, 24, plan 18, Plateau axe 014.

ibérique.[56] Il s'agit d'une anse d'oenochoé, vraisemblablement produite à Vulci et datée vers 500 av. J.-C. (Riis 1998, 26–27, fig. 17). Cet objet a été rapproché du bronze de La Algaida, dont il a été question plus haut, et interprété lui aussi comme une probable offrande.[57] La présence d'un sanctuaire ou palais sur le sommet de l'Alcazaba de Malaga dès le VI^{e}–V^{e} siècles est suggérée par cette précieuse pièce étrusque, mais aussi par une plaque d'ivoire non moins exceptionnelle, décorée d'une scène de culte égyptisante et que nous avons découverte sur le versant occidental de la colline, en amont du théâtre romain, lors des fouilles et des recherches effectués entre 1981 et 1987 (Gran-Aymerich 1991, 74–77, fig. 97). La forte épaisseur de cette plaque, les marques de débitage et les deux perforations sur la tranche indiquent l'insertion de cette pièce dans un meuble important. On y voit représentée une scène d'adoration du disque solaire ailé, traitée dans le style "kouchite" et selon une technique de taille en fort relief, qui est très différente de celle des ivoires hispano-phéniciens traditionnels: par contre, on observe d'étroites similitudes avec les ivoires de Carthage du VII^{e} siècle considérés comme de production locale.[58] L'existence d'un sanctuaire sur le sommet de l'Alcazaba de Malaga est confirmée par la représentation d'un temple à façade tétrastyle figurant au revers de plusieurs séries numismatiques de la *Malaka* punique.[59]

D. *Les statuettes et les fibules étrusco-italiques en Gaule*

En Gaule interne, des objets en bronze étrusco-italiques de différents types sont présents dès les VIII^{e} et VII^{e} siècles: fibules (à arc renflé, à *navicella*, à *drago*), épées, rasoirs, plaques de ceinture et les premiers vases en tôle de bronze (patères type Colmar-Vetulonia, pyxide d'Appenwihr). Vers la fin du VII^{e} siècle, apparaissent également les premières statuettes et figurines (hommes nus, femmes drapées, bovins), attribués à des

[56] Gran-Aymerich 1990; Gran-Aymerich *et al.* 1991, 25, 131, note 14, pl. III; Botto et Vives-Ferrandiz 2006, 127–128, fig. 22.

[57] Colonna 2006a, 14: "forse sufficiente da solo a indiziare l'esistenza di un altro santuario emporico frequentato da etruschi".

[58] Gran-Aymerich 1990; Gran-Aymerich, Du Puytison et Lagarce 1995, 583, fig. 4 et 6a. A propos des ateliers d'ivoiriers de Carthage et de l'Andalousie: Fantar 1982, no. 96, 76 fig.; Lancel 1992, 87–91. Pour les ivoires orientalisants d'Ibérie: Gran-Aymerich (sous presse), avec bibliographie.

[59] Voir avec bibliographie: Alexandropoulos 1991; Campo et Mora 1995.

ateliers étrusques (Volterra) ou italiques (Latium, Ombrie, Picenum), et surtout à un nombre indéterminé de centres intermédiaires et d'autres probablement locaux. La plupart de ces trouvailles correspondent à des découvertes anciennes et le contexte, l'identification et l'étude typologique soulèvent des difficultés considérables. Les attributions locales du XIX[e] siècle sont le plus souvent à écarter car il s'agirait de collections constituées à partir du marché antiquaire italien; cependant, considérer 90% de ces découvertes comme inventées est excessif;[60] en effet, une révision critique récente, qui ne se veut pas exhaustive, exclut 67% de ces pièces.[61] Il s'agit, la plupart du temps, de pièces isolées, à l'exception d'un lot de cinq figurines (un homme, deux femmes, deux bovidés), déclaré découvert en 1870 à Thorigné-en-Charnie, Mayenne, cette attribution étant contestée.[62] La figurine masculine de ce groupe a été rapprochée d'une série de figurations de personnages héroïsés, le plus souvent nus, parfois ithyphalliques, dites statuettes de "guerriers", car de la main droite ils auraient tenu une arme (lance). Nous verrons que la statuette des environs de Vézelay appartient également à ce type.[63] Un très récent travail de compilation critique écarte l'ensemble des statuettes étrusco-italiques de Gaule collectées avant la Seconde Guerre mondiale, "dans une région où les cultures protohistoriques répugnent à représenter des divinités sous une forme humaine".[64] Les objets de bronze étrusco-italiques dont la présence en Gaule est la plus assurée sont les fibules localisées en milieu humide (rivières et confluence de

[60] Adam 1992, 372 à propos du projet d'inventaire du Répertoire des importations étrusques et italiques en Gaule, commencé en 1985 et dont le volume IV est paru en 1992.

[61] Milcent 2006, 129: 60 objets assurés ou probables et 120 pièces au minimum, qui ne doivent plus être prises en compte pour une étude des importations méditerranéennes en Gaule.

[62] Adam 1992, 385: "la scoperta in ripostiglio è attestata con qualche certezza soltanto per Thorigné-en-Charnie"; Santrot et Meuret 1999, 78–79. Milcent 2006, 124 fig. 74, reconnaît l'unité du lot mais réfute le lieu de découverte déclaré, contestant la bonne foi des inventeurs et prône une origine nord-italique.

[63] Boucher 1971, fig. 4 et 6, Vézelay et Thorigné-en-Charnie; fig. 2, de Besançon; fig. 3, de Troyes; fig. 5, de Château-Chinon.

[64] Milcent 2006, 129. Jannot 2006, 79–82, rappelle que les éléments figurés sont présents parmi les importations méditerranéennes du monde celtique, et souligne qu'il faut relativiser la critique: "étant donné que nous avons quelques rares indices certains qui régulièrement ont été "étoffés" et falsifiés, ces falsifications ne doivent pas toucher la foi que l'on se doit d'accorder aux sources véritables aussi minimes qu'elles soient", p. 79.

cours d'eau, marécages, sources) et reconnues comme appartenant à des dépôts rituels,[65] ainsi que les vases de bronze.[66]

La statuette étrusque de guerrier nu de Vézelay, du sanctuaire des Fontaines-Salées ou leurs environs, département de l'Yonne, région Bourgogne

La découverte fortuite de cette statuette (Fig. 9) est contemporaine des premières campagnes de fouille dans le sanctuaire des Fontaines-Salées sur la vallée de la Cure, commune de Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay (Fig. 1, no. 8), mais l'endroit précis de la trouvaille reste discuté: sur le site même du sanctuaire des Fontaines-Salées (mais en dehors des fouilles officielles), sur le sommet de la colline de Vézelay, ou encore dans un lieu intermédiaire vers le village d'Asquins.[67] L'objet est aujourd'hui exposé au musée régional de Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay. Les fouilles du site ont été entreprises à partir de 1934 par René Louis et ont révélé un vaste ensemble thermal d'époque gallo-romaine, sous lequel se trouve un sanctuaire circulaire dédié à la divinité des eaux du II^{e} ou I^{cr} siècle av. J.-C. Pour les périodes précédentes, on a dégagé une série de puits, dans des cuvelages en bois pour le captage de l'eau salée, datés du premier âge du Fer, ainsi que plusieurs tombes en urnes du Hallstatt B.[68] La statuette de guerrier a été rapprochée des productions de Volterra et d'Arezzo de la fin du VII^{e} siècle et du début du VI^{e} et le lieu de sa découverte se situerait sur le trajet d'une des voies d'échange continentales entre le nord de la péninsule Italique et la façade atlantique (Boucher 1971, 193–194, fig. 1 et 13).

[65] Milcent 2006, 130. Pour la récente découverte du dépôt votif de fibules dans la source de la Douix à Châtillon-sur-Seine: Buvot 1998; Coudrot 2003. Pour le recensement des fibules d'importation en Gaule interne et dans le Midi: Duval, Eluére et Mohen 1974; Guilaine 1987; Janin 2006, 96 fig. 1.

[66] Parmi l'immense bibliographie consacrée aux vases étrusques métalliques en milieu celtique: Jacobsthal 1929; Jacobsthal, Langsdorff 1929; Reinecke 1933; Bouloumié 1973; Rolley 1980 et Rolley 1987; Shefton 1979 et Shefton 1995; Adam *et al.* 1987 et la suite; Adam 1992 et 2003; Gran-Aymerich 2006b et 2007.

[67] Louis 1943, 34–35; Boucher 1971, 194 fig. 4; Boucher 1976, 18; Rolley 1980, 55, note 5; Adam *et al.* 1987, 29; Adam 1992, 385.

[68] Olivier, Rolley 2002, 274, à propos de la statuette étrusque découverte "entre Asquins et Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay". Voir aussi: Delor 2002; Arcelin et Brunaux 2003, 143.

De nouvelles perspectives

Il est bien évident que les cas évoqués ici soulèvent plus de questions qu'ils n'apportent de réponses. Nous nous proposions d'abord de signaler des dossiers restés en suspens et d'encourager à poursuivre ces enquêtes. L'ensemble de ces documents étrusques d'exportation nous semble, avec un degré d'incertitude plus ou moins grand, correspondre à une utilisation non fonctionnelle et revêt un caractère autre que purement commercial: en effet, certains de leurs aspects—l'inscription étrusque qu'ils portent, ou encore leur découverte dans un sanctuaire—suggèrent leur interprétation comme objets votifs. Si les statuettes étrusco-italiques de la Gaule restent problématiques, même réduits au minimum, les documents utilisables révèlent des dépôts en milieu humide évoquant un rituel et par ailleurs ces figurines présentent des traits qui les distinguent radicalement des objets de prestige fonctionnels (Adam 1992, 386). Les documents les plus pertinents sont certainement ceux qui proviennent de sites du littoral méditerranéen comme Carthage, Marseille, Saint-Blaise, Ampurias, Malaga ou l'Algaida en direction de Huelva, tous lieux vraisemblablement fréquentés ou visités par des Étrusques des cités de l'Étrurie maritime (Caeré, Tarquinia et Vulci apparaissent en première ligne). Ces différents dossiers renvoient aussi à des périodes et des situations sans doute diverses, mais ils témoignent tous de l'évolution des relations entre navigateurs et populations locales du monde méditerranéen, avant l'affrontement final entre Rome et Carthage (Heurgon 1993).

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CHAPTER TWO

LES INSCRIPTIONS VOTIVES DU SANCTUAIRE DE PORTONACCIO À VÉIES

Dominique Briquel

Les fouilles, entreprises par Ettore Gabrici et Giulio Q. Giglioli en 1914–1916, puis Enrico Stefani en 1917–1921 et reprises par Massimo Pallotino en 1939–1940 sur le site du sanctuaire de Portonaccio à Véies[1] ont donné lieu à la découverte non seulement des célèbres statues acrotériales qui font aujourd'hui l'orgueil du Musée de la Villa Giulia à Rome, mais aussi d'une série de dédicaces archaïques qui le rendent tout aussi précieux pour les spécialistes d'épigraphie étrusque que sa statuaire en terre cuite le fait pour leurs confrères spécialistes d'histoire de l'art. Ce groupe de textes, portés sur des céramiques déposées en ex-voto dans le sanctuaire lors de la première phase de son existence (environ de 600 à 540/530 av. J.-C.), lorsque le culte se déroulait encore à ciel ouvert, fut retrouvé, regroupé dans un dépôt constituant une sorte de dépôt de fondation du grand autel qui fut édifié au cours de la deuxième phase (entre 540/530 et 510 av. J.-C.).[2] Ces inscriptions furent, pour l'essentiel, publiées en deux phases. Une première série d'inscriptions, au nombre de 38 (si on exclut des documents réduits à une seule lettre), correspondant au matériel épigraphique trouvé lors des premières campagnes de fouilles, fut publiée dans les *Notizie degli Scavi* de 1930, par les soins d'Enrico Stefani et avec des lectures et un commentaire linguistique de Bartolomeo Nogara.[3] La seconde, correspondant

[1] Sur l'histoire des fouilles sur ce site, commode présentation de Colonna dans Moretti Sgubini 2001, 37–44 ("I. F. Portonaccio").

[2] Données dans Stefani 1953, 81–87; Ward-Perkins 1961, 30; Colonna 2002a.

[3] Voir Stefani et Nogara 1930. Ces inscriptions, qui furent reprises dans la *NRIE* de Mario Buffa, publiée à Florence en 1935, correspondent aux documents Ve 3.2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10 (pour la fin de l'inscription), 13 (pour une partie des fragments de cette inscription), 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 (pour le début du texte), 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 46, Ve 4.1, Ve 0.3, 4, 5, 6, 7 du recueil publié sous la direction de Helmut Rix, *Etruskische Texte, Editio Minor*, Tübingen, Scriptoralia, 2001 (*ET*), qui constitue actuellement la référence fondamentale en matière de répertoire d'épigraphie étrusque et selon la nomenclature duquel nous citerons les inscriptions.

aux découvertes faites lors des fouilles de Massimo Pallottino, fut publiée, pour la majeure partie, par M. Pallottino lui-même dans la *Rivista d'Epigrafia Etrusca* de 1939,[4] et est désormais étudiée par D. Maras dans un appendice à la publication générale de ces fouilles parue en 2001 sous la direction de Giovanni Colonna.[5] Cette nouvelle série a porté à notre connaissance dix inscriptions nouvelles et a permis de compléter par des fragments nouveaux deux des inscriptions déjà publiées. Tel quel, ce corpus épigraphique nous offre un ensemble de dédicaces absolument unique dans le monde étrusque, et constituant par ailleurs un série de documents d'une abondance sans exemple pour une époque aussi haute. Il constitue de ce fait un des témoignages les plus significatifs que le monde étrusque nous ait livrés sur les pratiques votives, au moins pour ce qui est de leur aspect épigraphique. À ce titre, elles offrent un aperçu exceptionnel sur la fréquentation d'un sanctuaire étrusque car, par la richesse d'éléments onomastiques qu'elles fournissent, elles rendent, au moins dans une certaine mesure, possible, l'analyse du public de fidèles qui fréquentait ce sanctuaire—situation qu'on ne rencontre nulle part ailleurs en Étrurie.

Bien sûr, toutes les inscriptions ne sont pas utilisables pour une enquête onomastique. C'est le cas de celles qui sont trop mutilées là où on s'attend à trouver une désignation onomastique. Il n'y a évidemment pas grand-chose à tirer du théta isolé qui, en Ve 3.21, suit la formule de don *itan mulvanice* (où, comme objet du verbe de don, le démonstratif est substitué à l'emploi habituel du pronom de première personne, selon un usage qui pourrait se retrouver dans le texte très lacunaire de Ve 3.26 si on restitue avec Rix *it]an sla*…). Il a des chances de correspondre au début d'un prénom (comme le *θaniršiie* qui apparaît en Ve 3.30), mais il est bien sûr hasardeux de se lancer dans la moindre proposition. Il en va de même pour les terminaisons de gentilices que sont les…*naie* de Ve 3.22 (avant le verbe de don *mulvanice*) et…*niies* de 3.34, qui

[4] Voir Pallottino 1939. Ces inscriptions correspondent dans *ET*, pour les documents nouveaux, à Ve 3.6, 8, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15 (à regrouper avec Ve 3.40), 32, 40 (à regrouper avec Ve 3.15), 45, et à des fragments qui permettent de compléter Ve 3.13 et 31. M. Pallottino devait publier plus tard, dans *StEtr* 20 (1948–1949), 261, Ve 3.44. Plus récemment, G. Colonna a publié dans Colonna 2002b un nouveau fragment de Ve 3.44, qui permet d'adjoindre au texte de dédicace de coupe étrusco-corinthienne attribuée au *Pittore dei Rosoni* publié par M. Pallottino une formule indiquant le nom de l'artiste qui l'a réalisée.

[5] Voir Maras 2002, 261–273 (sans le nouveau fragment de Ve 3.44, mais avec des inscriptions nouvelles, no. 44, 45, 209, 443, mais qui n'apportent pas d'éléments onomastiques).

apparaît dans la dédicace d'un grand vase de bucchero, désigné par la séquence parlante *mi θina*, que ce personnage avait offert à Aritimi, Turan et Menerva, document capital pour la définition du culte qui était rendu en ces lieux et ne s'adressait pas à la seule Minerve, évoquée dans plusieurs autres documents (Ve 3.10, 29, probablement 33 s'il convient de restituer *men]erva[s*, 45, 4.1).[6] Même le *eprinie*, probable fin de gentilice qui se lit—difficilement—sur le fragment de panse de bucchero Ve 3.41, n'appelle pas de rapprochement dans ce que nous connaissons de l'onomastique étrusque et ne peut être utilisé dans le cadre d'une enquête onomastique.

Les inscriptions qui ne livrent qu'un prénom ne sont elles non plus guère utilisables pour une enquête onomastique: c'est le cas de Ve 3.16 et 17, après la formule de don, mutilée mais restituable sous la forme *mini muluvanice*, textes qui présentent le prénom masculin Larice, suivi seulement, dans la première de ces deux inscriptions par la première lettre du gentilice, un K (ce qui voulait dire qu'il commençait par *ka*…, mais cela ne nous avance guère); c'est le cas également pour le *la* qui suit, avant une cassure, *mi]ni mulvanice* en Ve 3.18, qui peut encore avoir été Larice, mais aussi bien Larq ou Laris, et pour le *man* qui débute ce qui peut, vu la position dans le texte, avoir été un prénom dans l'inscription mutilée *mini m an[… tu]ruce* Ve 3.31, que H. Rix pensait pouvoir lire *mank[a*, mais que D. Maras, plus prudemment, estime possible de compléter sous les formes *mann, manm, mant* aussi bien que *mank*, ce qui n'autorise aucune restitution claire; c'est le cas encore du *ane* isolé qui se lit sur Ve 3.39, s'il convient d'y reconnaître le prénom Ane. De même le *tule* de Ve 3.32, non nécessairement complet (ce fragment de bucchero porte *mini tule* que suit immédiatement une cassure), a des chances d'avoir été un élément de désignation onomastique, et plus précisément un prénom (on peut songer au prénom qui a été celui du roi de Rome Tullus Hostilius; *tule* est attesté comme gentilice à époque récente à Arezzo par Ar 1.1 et 94, mais il peut s'agir d'un *Vornamengentilizium*), bien que D. Maras ait préféré envisager ici un verbe *tule*, autrement inconnu, qui serait apparenté à *tular* et exprimerait une idée de délimitation.

[6] Pour les cultes du sanctuaire, étude fondamentale de Colonna 1987a, 425–426 = Colonna 2005, 1995–1997 pour cette inscription. Également Colonna 1985a, 99–101.

Cela étant, en dépit de ces cas incertains, le stock onomastique que nous livrent ces inscriptions est important. On y relève les noms suivants classés par ordre alphabétique (selon l'alphabet étrusque).

Avile Acvilnas

Comme cela a bien été souligné entre autres par M. Cristofani et G. Colonna,[7] le personnage de ce nom qui a laissé la dédicace Ve 3.7 *[min]e muluvenice aville acvilnas* sur un fragment de panse d'œnochoé de bucchero est par ailleurs connu par deux dédicaces, trouvées en contexte funéraire,[8] à Ischia di Castro, dans la région de Vulci, au libellé comparable et portées sur des vases identiques, également des environs du milieu du VI[e] siècle av. J.-C., Vc 3.4 *mine muluvene avile acvilnas* (avec formule de don au présent)[9] et Vc 3.5 *mine muluvenice av[ile acviln]as*. On se trouve donc en présence d'un individu, certainement de souche aristocratique, qui, selon la pratique d'échanges de dons dont M. Cristofani a bien dégagé l'importance dans cette société des 'princes' d'époque orientalisante,[10] aura fait bénéficier de ses offrandes, orgueilleusement inscrites à son nom, aussi bien un de ses compatriotes, appartenant au même milieu social, qui les aura emportées dans sa tombe à Ischia di Castro, que le sanctuaire de Véies. On se trouve dans un cas analogue à celui du Cérite Laris Velχaina, dont on a retrouvé une offrande dans le sanctuaire de la Mater Matuta de Satricum, dans le Latium (La 3.1= *CIE* 8613) et une autre en contexte funéraire à Caeré (Cr 3.10), ou d'un autre dédicant du sanctuaire véien, Mamarce Apunie, dont le nom apparaît sur une grande œnochoé de bucchero, des environs de 570 av. J.-C., découverte en 1993 dans une tombe à tumulus de Lavinium (*CIE* 8612). Dans le cas de cet Avil(l)e Acvilnas, il est remarquable que la graphie soit exactement la même, avec recours aussi à Ischia di Castro à l'interponction syllabique et, trait plus exceptionnel, à des S en zigzag à traits multiples, selon un type qui apparaît sporadiquement dans les inscriptions de cette époque (p. ex. Cr 2.3 à Caeré), notamment dans la région falisque (outre l'épigraphie falisque, on le rencontre à Narce

[7] Cristofani 1975, 142–143; Colonna 1989–1990 = Colonna 2005, 2043–2070, ici 876 = 2044.

[8] Voir Colonna, *l.c.*: "quasi certamente da tombe". À défaut d'indication de provenance précise, le fait que ces œnochoés sont intactes va dans ce sens.

[9] Sur ce point, Colonna 1982.

[10] Outre Cristofani 1975; Cristofani 1984.

dans l'inscription étrusque Fa X.1). Étant donné cette pratique de dons et de contre-dons, parfois faits à très longue distance, la découverte des vases d'Ischia di Castro ne suffit pas à faire du personnage un aristocrate établi en ces lieux, ni même originaire de la région de Vulci. Une origine vulcienne a il est vrai été suggérée par C. Ampolo, mais à partir de données externes: étant donné l'équivalence du suffixe étrusque *-na* et du suffixe latin *-ius*, bien mise en valeur par De Simone (1989a), celui-ci a su reconnaître des Acvilnas étrusques dans les Aquilii latins, famille de l'aristocratie romaine qui a donné à la cité un des premiers consuls de la république, le consul de 487 av. J.-C. C. Aquilius, au surnom significatif de Tuscus.[11] Selon C. Ampolo, l'introduction de cette famille serait à situer dans le contexte d'apports vulciens représenté par l'établissement des frères Vibenna. Une origine vulcienne, bien sûr, ne peut rester qu'hypothétique.

Amana

Ce mot qui se lit, précédé d'un intervalle qui montre qu'il commençait par la séquence *ama*…, et avait des chances de se finir, sans point d'interponction syllabique, par une sifflante de forme, S, se lit sur un petit fragment d'un grand vase de bucchero (Ve 3.4:] *amanas* [), est vraisemblablement une forme de gentilice, formé sur une base Ama, non autrement connue. Il apparaît sur le linteau d'une tombe à chambre de la nécropole de Crocifisso del Tufo à Orvieto, Vs 1.92 (*mi larθia amanas*), ce qui peut orienter vers un individu d'origine volsinienne, mais sans garantie bien sûr.

Anae

Nous incluons dans cette liste cette forme, bien que la lecture ne puisse en être totalement assurée. Elle résulte d'une proposition de G. Colonna, pour l'inscription Ve 0.5, très détériorée, portée sur quatre fragments jointifs de la panse d'un vase de bucchero, qu'il envisage de lire *[mi]ni rahθpi anae amavunice*.[12] Le dédicant aurait été un individu

[11] Ampolo 1975, 414–415 pour l'hypothèse d'une origine vulcienne.

[12] Colonna 1987a, 434–435 = Colonna 2005, 2003–2004. Dans ce texte, G. Colonna reconnaissait une dédicace (avec un verbe *amavunice*), faite au dieu Rathii, sorte d'Apollon étrusque qui aurait été associé aux déesses Menerva, Turan, Aritimi dans le temple.

désigné par un nom unique, cas exceptionnel dans la série et qui à cette époque peut être le signe d'une position marginale dans la société, soit celle d'un subalterne, soit celle d'un étranger. G. Colonna estime qu'il pourrait s'agir d'un Falisque ou d'un Latin (Anae est attesté à époque récente à Faléries, par Fa 0.6, 8 ainsi qu'à Caeré, Cr 2.133, où on a aussi, comme prénom, Anaie, Cr 1.81, forme qui se retrouve à Aléria, Cs 2.18 et 19).

Laris Apaiaes

La publication récente, sous l'égide de G. Colonna, des fouilles de M. Pallottino en 1939–1940 a fait connaître un nouveau fragment du canthare de bucchero portant ce texte, donnant les deux lettres manquantes de ce que H. Rix lisait, avec raison, comme *min[i m]ulvanice laris apaiaes* (Ve 3.8).[13] Ce nom, dans lequel il convient de reconnaître avec Pallottino et M. Morandi Tarabella la base Apa,[14] apparaît ici formé par l'adjonction du suffixe de gentilice d'origine italique *-(i)es* à une forme déjà élargie qu'on retrouve à Tarquinia, pourvue d'un autre suffixe, dans le Apaiatru du sarcophage des Amazones, du milieu du IV^e^ siècle av. J.-C., Ta 1.50–51, provenant de la tombe des Amazones.[15] La différence de suffixe interdit de poser une relation familiale entre les deux témoignages. On attribuera donc avec une certaine plausibilité mais sans certitude absolue, avec M. Morandi Tarabella, l'Apaiaes de Portonaccio à une famille locale de ce nom (Morandi Tarabella 2004, 690).

Mamarce Apunie

Ce nom apparaît inscrit sur le rouleau décoré de rouelles aux extrémités et d'une tête féminine sur la face opposée à l'anse d'une attache supérieure d'anse d'une œnochoé de bucchero qui porte une dédicace à une Venai féminine, en qui G. Colonna a proposé de reconnaître, non une femme pour qui le don aurait été fait, mais une divinité mineure

[13] Voir D. Maras, dans Colonna 2002a, no. 118, 264.

[14] Pallottino 1939, no. 4, 459, Morandi Tarabella 2004, 71.

[15] Le nom de Larq Apaiatru, qui fut *zil eteraia*, apparaît, au génitif, porté sur le sarcophage et le couvercle de sa 'grand-mère' ou 'mère chérie' (selon le sens qu'on donne à *ati nancva*) Ramθa Huzcnai.

du sanctuaire.[16] Le texte se lit: *mini muluvanice mamarce apuniie venala* (Ve 3.5) et, comme nous l'avons rappelé, le même individu avait offert à un aristocrate latin une grande amphore avec la dédicace, portée en lettres analogues et toujours avec interponction syllabique et graphie du yod par double I, *mini m[uluv]anice mamarce apuniie* (*CIE* 8612). Le gentilice, qu'on peut estimer formé sur un nom individuel Apu, apparaît sous cette forme—et donc formé par l'adjonction d'un suffixe *-n(a)ie*, combinant le suffixe étrusque *-na* et le suffixe d'origine italique *-ie* (De Simone 1989, 271–272)—mais aussi sous la forme Apuna(s), obtenue par l'adjonction du seul suffixe étrusque *-na*, à la même époque à Caeré (Cr 3.17), pour un Larθ Apunas. Il s'agit donc vraisemblablement de deux formations parallèles et on pourra estimer que la famille des Apunie est une *gens* véienne, tandis que celle des Apuna(s) est une *gens* cérite. Mais, en en toute rigueur, la présence de cette dédicace à Portonaccio, étant donné la fréquentation du sanctuaire par des fidèles certainement non véiens, ne permet pas de garantir l'appartenance de la famille à l'aristocratie de Véies.[17]

Laris Velkasnas

Ce nom apparaît sur un fragment du rebord d'une sorte de coffret en bucchero retrouvée et publiée par G. Colonna en 1985 (Colonna 1985b), dont il a montré qu'elle appartenait au même objet qu'un fragment analogue portant le nom de la déesse Menerva, au génitif de dédicace, publiée en 1930, permettant ainsi de reconstituer la formule de dédicace *laris velkasna[s mini turuce] menervas* (Ve 3.10). Comme l'a ingénieusement suggéré notre collègue italien, la forme singulière de l'objet serait due à la volonté d'imiter, en bucchero, une boîte de *sortes*, ce qui serait un indice capital du caractère oraculaire du culte de la déesse principale du sanctuaire: le dédicant aurait choisi de commémorer ainsi sa consultation de l'oracle, rendu par tirage de *sortes* oraculaires.[18] Sous cette forme, le nom Velkasnas est isolé. Mais il n'est pas exclu que ce soit le même nom qui apparaît, écrit avec un chi (mais dans une position,

[16] Colonna 1987a, 429–430 = Colonna 2005, 1997–1998.

[17] Il nous paraît difficile d'affirmer avec M. Morandi Tarabella 2004, 692 que ce Mamarce Apunie appartienne à la même famille que celle qui sera connue plus tard à Tarquinia sous le nom d'Apuna.

[18] Outre Colonna 1987, voir Colonna 1987a, 423–424 = Colonna 2005, 1991–1993.

après [l], où l'opposition aspirée/non aspirée est susceptible de se neutraliser), dans un graffite portant le gentilice Velcasnas, sans prénom, inscrit auprès d'une figure de lutteur peinte sur une paroi de la tombe Cardarelli, à Calvario, près de Tarquinia (Morandi 1999, 384–385), remontant à la fin du VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C. Ce nom serait celui d'une famille aristocratique: M. Morandi considère, sans doute à juste titre, qu'il peut difficilement désigner le lutteur lui-même, mais doit plutôt indiquer la lignée nobiliaire qui l'employait. Cette famille peut être, mais non obligatoirement, locale: d'autres athlètes sont désignés par d'autres noms de familles, Petui et Nanisei, dont on ne peut exclure qu'elles soient venues d'autres cités. Il n'y a pas non plus d'indication certaine en faveur d'une origine véienne à tirer de Ve 3.10: étant donné que certains dédicants sont certainement venus d'autres villes, et même si il y a une probabilité générale que la plupart soient véiens, on ne peut affirmer, dans des cas particuliers comme celui-ci, qu'on soit en présence d'un représentant d'une famille locale. Le prestige du sanctuaire et de son oracle a pu y attirer un Velkasnas établi dans une autre cité, et le cas échéant à Tarquinia si on interprète en ce sens le graffite de la tombe Cardarelli.[19]

Mamarce Vel[x]nsnas

Nous incluons dans cette série cette inscription, 0A 3.4, dont l'appartenance à la série reste hypothétique.[20] Elle a été suggérée par Alessandro Morandi à partir de documents d'archives révélant que le petit cheval de bucchero portant le texte *[mini m]amarce vel[x]nśnaś turuce* a été découvert à Véies avant 1876: le type de formulaire, l'emploi de la ponctuation syllabique incitent à penser que cet ex-voto a pu être découvert sur le site de Portonaccio avant que des fouilles régulières ne s'y déroulent (Morandi 1989, 585–588). On ne peut donner à cette proposition un caractère plus assuré que celui qu'elle peut avoir. Mais on soulignera, dans le cadre de cette hypothèse, l'intérêt de rencontrer une inscription dont les autres traits graphiques correspondent aux

[19] La graphie avec S et non sifflante finale rendue par le signe en croix et l'absence de ponctuation syllabique ne sont pas des arguments suffisants pour exclure une origine véienne. M. Morandi Tarabella (2004, 690) considère la lignée comme véienne.

[20] Nous laissons au gentilice (dont la graphie offre une lacune qui peut ne pas représenter plus d'une lettre) une forme indéterminée, aucun nom connu ne présentant des séquences *vel-* puis *-nsna(s)*.

traits les plus typiques de l'écriture de cette série d'ex-votos, mais qui témoigne d'un emploi du signe de forme M pour la sifflante normale, caractéristique du Nord de l'Étrurie.[21] On peut penser—trait sur lequel nous reviendrons—que l'auteur de cette dédicace aura voulu laisser son nom écrit avec les lettres typiques de sa région d'origine, et non celles normalement en usage à Véies. On aura affaire à un personnage issu de la partie septentrionale de la Toscane, qui aura visité le sanctuaire (si l'hypothèse de A. Morandi est fondée) et y aura offert cet objet.

Larice Vestricina(s)

On avait proposé de reconnaître cette désignation par prénom et gentilice sur deux petits fragments jointifs de l'épaule d'un vase de bucchero,]*arice vest*[(Ve 3.3), avec une restitution assez sûre pour le prénom, mais plus hypothétique pour le gentilice. Elle est maintenant garantie par la présence du même nom dans la formule *mine mulvanice larice vestricin[a(s)]* de Ve 3.15/Ve 3.40, dont D. Maras sa montré qu'ils formaient une seule et même inscription,[22] portée sur une œnochoé de bucchero. La trouvaille, dans une tombe de la nécropole de Monte Abatone, d'une inscription (Cr 3.20: *mi aranθ ramuθasi vestiricinala muluvanice*) commémorant le don d'une amphore de bucchero de type nicosthénique de la fin du VII[e] siècle av. J.-C. fait par un individu de sexe masculin dont seul le prénom Aranθ est indiqué à une Ramuθa Vest(i)ricinai (au nom écrit avec un sigma quadrilinéaire et non un S, et sans l'interponction syllabique qu'on trouve à Portonaccio, et présentant phonétiquement un [i] d'anaptyxe absent à Véies), indique qu'au moins une femme de cette famille était établie à Caeré, où elle a reçu ce cadeau qu'elle a emporté dans sa tombe. Cela peut être un indice de ce que la famille, y compris dans ses représentants masculins, étaient cérites.[23] Mais, au-delà, on a affaire à une famille d'origine clairement italique: le rapprochement,

[21] On peut comparer la graphie de la partie finale du nom Velavesnas (*velaveśnaś*) qui se lit sur la fibule en or de Chiusi conservée au musée du Louvre (Cl 2.3).

[22] Maras 2002, 270–271 no. 223.

[23] Le *ricin* qui se lit sur deux fragments de vase attique à vernis noir publiés par Colonna 2003, 324, a été rapproché par lui, d'une manière purement hypothétique, de Vestricina. La présence de formes de gentilices apparentées, mais avec phonétisme et suffixation différents, Vest(a)rcnie, à une époque postérieure à Tarquinia (à partir du IV[e] siècle av. J.-C.; données dans Morandi Tarabella 2004, 193–195) n'impose évidemment pas l'idée d'une origine tarquinienne.

fait par C. De Simone,[24] avec le Vestirikíís osque, attesté par la forme *vestirikúú* sur le cippe d'Abella, montre qu'on affaire à une lignée d'origine italique établie en Étrurie, peut-être à Caeré.

Avile Vipiiennas

Nous n'avons pas besoin de nous attarder sur le document exceptionnel que constitue le pied de thymaterion de bucchero qui porte, inscrite sur la tige, la dédicace Ve 3.11 *mine muluv[an]ece avile vipiiennas*, faite par Aulus Vibenna, un des deux frères originaires de Vulci qui ont joué un rôle dans les circonstances obscures de l'accession de Macstarna-Servius Tullius au trône de Rome. Il nous suffira ici de noter que la graphie s'intègre parfaitement dans celle habituelle pour les ex-votos du sanctuaire (avec interponction syllabique, emploi du double I pour yod; la particularité de la notation de la sifflante finale par S et non par X se retrouve p. ex. en 3.9 pour une des deux dédicaces de Hvuluves), alors qu'il s'agit d'un individu certainement allogène. Cependant, étant donné la complexité de la carrière du personnage (l'empereur Claude, dans le discours conservé par la table de Lyon, parlait, pour son frère Caelius, de la *uaria fortuna* qui l'avait obligé à quitter l'Étrurie), on ne peut déterminer si, lorsqu'il a offert cet objet, Aulus Vibenna était encore lié à Vulci[25] ou déjà à Rome.

Pesnu Zinaie

L'existence de ce nom est hypothétique. Elle résulte du choix d'interprétation qui nous paraît le plus probable pour Ve 3.2, sur une œnochoé de bucchero, dont le texte se lit *velθur tulumnes pesnu zinaie mene mul[uvanice*. Mais la lecture et l'interprétation des deux termes qui précèdent la formule de don *mene muluvanice* sont très discutées. Ainsi, G. Colonna, suivi par Helmut Rix et Gerhard Meiser dans *Etruskische Texte*, a proposé de corriger le texte écrit en Pesn(a N)uzinaie, en sup-

[24] De Simone 1964, 1972; dans ce sens, Colonna 1989, 338–340; Bagnasco Gianni 1996, 73–74 no. 41; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 195–196. Mais dernièrement, à cause de la chronologie des attestations, le même C. De Simone a envisagé, d'une manière moins convaincante, une influence inverse, la forme étrusque ayant donné naissance à la forme osque (De Simone 1993, 29–30; cf. Marchesini 1997, 127).

[25] Dans ce sens, Maras 2002, 156.

posant un phénomène de superposition graphique de syllabes.[26] Une telle correction se fonde sur l'absence d'attestation de Pesnu, alors que Pesna, sans être fréquent, est un prénom qui se rencontre parfois: il est attesté, à date récente, sur plusieurs inscriptions funéraires de Chiusi et de l'*ager Saenensis* (Cl 1.396, 398, 2565, sans doute 2564, sans doute AS 1.200) et, déjà auparavant, figure comme prénom d'un des adversaires des frères Vibenna et de Macstarna, Pesna Arcmsnas de Sovana, sur la peinture de la tombe François où est représenté l'exploit nocturne des héros vulciens (Vc 7.78); le monument date certes du troisième quart du IV[e] siècle av. J.-C., mais renvoie à des événements du VI[e] siècle av. J.-C., donc contemporains de la documentation épigraphique que nous étudions. Cependant, il n'est nullement impossible qu'à côté de la forme Pesna une forme Pesnu ait existé: nous préférons donc, avec la majorité des commentateurs, conserver la forme Pesnu. La correction pour le gentilice ne s'impose pas non plus nécessairement: Nuzina existe,[27] attesté par le génitif féminin archaïque *nuzinaia(l)* dans la marque de possession *mi spanti nuzinaia* (Cr 2.1) inscrite sur un plat d'impasto du premier quart du VII[e] siècle av. J.-C. trouvé dans une tombe des environs de Caeré.[28] Mais ce *nuzinaia* n'a pas de rapport direct avec le Nuzinaie supposé pour Ve 3.2; dans cette dernière forme, il faut poser l'adjonction d'un second suffixe *-ie*. Et pour Ve 3.2 une lecture conservant *zinaie* demeure tout à fait possible.

Mais, si on retient une séquence *pesnu zinaie*, un problème d'interprétation se pose. Avec sa terminaison en *-u*, Pesnu peut apparaître comme une forme de cognomen, qui qualifierait le personnage désigné juste auparavant, Velθur Tulumnes: il serait désigné par une formule trimembre, associant prénom, gentilice et surnom, Velθur Tulumnes Pesnu. On aurait alors affaire à un seul individu, pourvu d'une désignation onomastique à trois éléments. Et *zinaie* ne serait pas à rattacher à la sphère onomastique: le terme serait à rattacher à la base qui a donné le verbe *zinace*, il a fait (ou fait faire), et serait une dénomination de l'artisan, obtenue sur cette base par l'adjonction du suffixe *-aie*. Cette

[26] Voir Colonna 1968, 266. Cette proposition de lecture a été suivie, outre par les éditeurs de *ET*, par S. Marchesini (1997, 136).

[27] Pour une attestation éventuelle à Tolfa, dans un graffite sur un vase de bucchero de la fin du VII[e] ou du début du VI[e] siècle av. J.-C., mais de lecture non assurée (Cr 2.43), Marchesini 1997, 48 no. 80; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 333.

[28] Sur l'interprétation de Nuzinaia soit comme prénom, soit comme gentilice, Marchesini 1997, 135–136; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 333; en fait, on est à une époque où l'usage d'une désignation unique, par nom individuel, est parfaitement envisageable.

ligne interprétative a été suivie par de nombreux chercheurs, depuis S. P. Cortsen et E. Vetter jusqu'à, récemment, A. Morandi, M. Morandi Tarabella et J. Martinez Pinna.[29] Elle aboutit à reconnaître dans cette inscription la présence d'un seul dédicataire, Velθur Tulumnes Pesnu, défini comme artisan.[30] Mais comme le notent honnêtement A. Morandi et M. Morandi Tarabella, cette interprétation, faisant de Velθur Tulumnes un artisan, se concilie difficilement avec l'idée qu'on se fait de la *gens Tolumnia*, dont tout porte à penser qu'elle a été une des plus puissantes de l'aristocratie de Véies.[31] Aussi vaut-il sans doute mieux retenir la solution, défendue par Mauro Cristofani, de la présence de deux individus distincts, exprimés en asyndète, Velθur Tulumnes et Pesnu Zinaie, sujets du verbe *muluwanice*, qui auraient conjointement dédié cette œnochoé.[32] Dans ces conditions, Zinaie pourrait être un simple nom de famille. On peut peut-être lui attribuer le sens d'"artisan" (de la même manière que le nom du foulon, Fulu, sera parfois utilisé, à époque ultérieure, comme nom de famille).[33] Mais il n'est pas certain qu'il faille attribuer cette signification au mot: on n'a pas d'autres exemples de termes, dans le vocabulaire des titulaires de métiers ou de fonctions, qui seraient formés avec un suffixe en *-aie*, alors que son emploi dans la sphère onomastique est bien attesté (il suffit de songer à Apaie, Leθaie).[34] Par ailleurs, la base *zin-* a donné lieu à des formations à usage onomastique: on connaît un Arnθ Zinu à Castel del Piano (AS 1.259). Nous préférons donc nous en tenir à l'opinion qui voit dans cette inscription la mention de deux individus, dont le second serait dénommé Pesnu Zinaie—nom par ailleurs sans correspondant connu.

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[29] Cortsen 1935, 149 (corrigeant la lecture *zinace* que B. Nogara avait proposée dans l'*editio princeps* de Stefani et Nogara 1930, 327–328; Vetter 1955, 51; Morandi 1989, 593–594; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 333, 548; Martinez Pinna 2004, 29–30.

[30] L'interprétation de J. Martinez Pinna (2004, 29–30) est différente: il verrait dans le nom de Velθur Tulumne le patron de l'artisan, Pesnu, ce nom étant indiqué au génitif avec un usage de la *Gruppenflexion* pour le prénom Velθur.

[31] Morandi 1989, 594; Morandi Tarabella, 548. La solution envisagée dans Martinez Pinna 2004, 29–30, répond à cette objection, mais en supposant une construction de la phrase qui paraît difficile.

[32] Cristofani 1976, 95. La solution de deux dédicants est défendue par D. Maras, dans Colonna 2002a, 270 no. 26, qui cite d'autres exemples de dédicaces doubles.

[33] Emploi non cognominal en Cl 1.198.

[34] Voir Rix 1972, 737.

Avile Zuqume

C'est là la forme du gentilice la plus probable qu'on doive envisager pour le dédicant d'une coupe attique ancienne qui porte l'inscription Ve 3.29, écrite sans interponction et avec le signe de sifflante S, que H. Rix interprétait comme *[mini avi]le zuqu me turace menervas*, avec un *me* fautif qui serait une anticipation du début du nom de la déesse. Mais on y verra plutôt, selon une suggestion de G. Colonna, un suffixe *-me* (qu'on a par exemple dans Lauχme; De Simone 1975, 139–143) s'ajoutant à la base *zucu*.[35] Celle-ci étant attestée, à époque ancienne, à Orvieto, plus tard en pays falisque ainsi qu'à Chiusi et, par une seule attestation, à Pérouse, on verra vraisemblablement dans le dédicant de cet objet un individu provenant de la région tibérine en amont de Véies.[36]

(H)ermenaie

Ce gentilice, à la restitution assez sûre, est la seule partie de la désignation onomastique qui subsiste sur les deux fragments jointifs de la panse d'une œnochoé de bucchero où se lit l'inscription Ve 1.10 *h]ermenaie mulvanic[e*. Dans un horizon chronologique comparable, des Hermenas sont connus à Orvieto, avec, à La Cannicella, un (H)ermena dont le prénom a disparu (Vs 1.152), à Crocifisso del Tufo, une Velelia Hiriminai, au vocalisme un peu différent (Vs 1.85). On rencontrera plus tard, aux IV^{e}/III^{e} siècles av. J.-C., des Hermnas à Caeré (Cr 1.143 et Cristofani 1989, 324), sans compter le Θucer Hermenas auteur de la dédicace du 'guerrier de Ravenne', des environs de 500 av. J.-C. et de provenance discutée (Pa 3.1). Il faut en outre faire intervenir les Herminii de Rome, dont le T. Herminius compagnon d'Horatius Cocles dans son exploit devant le pont du Tibre, qui sera consul en 506 av. J.-C. et tombera lors de la bataille du lac Régille. Il serait hasardeux de relier généalogiquement tous ces personnages, et il en va de même pour

[35] Colonna 1987a, 424 = Colonna 2005, 1991. La forme *zuχu* (avec aspirée) est attestée comme gentilice, à la fin du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C., dans la nécropole de La Cannicella (Vs 1.136: *mi lareces zuχus mutus śuθi*), puis à Corchiano en pays falisque au IV^{e} siècle (Fa 2.15 (*larisa zuχus*) et plus tard à Chiusi (Cl 1.1619, 1769, 1770, 1771, 2173) et Pérouse (Pe 1.965).

[36] Maras 2002, 272, l'attribue à Chiusi. Mais il paraît difficile d'être aussi précis et, pour l'époque, c'est plutôt à Volsinies que le nom Zucu est attesté.

l'Hermenaie de Portonaccio, au suffixe renforcé—qui peut correspondre à une famille locale de Véies, mais aussi être un allogène.[37]

Larice Hvuluves *et* Θanirsie Hvuluves

Le nom de ces deux membres de la même famille apparaît sur les deux inscriptions Ve 3.9 *[mini mulu]vanice [la]rice hvuluves*, inscrite sur les fragments d'un couvercle de bucchero orné de cordons et d'éventails, et Ve 3.30, au formulaire plus recherché et incluant la formule "je suis un bon (objet) pour un bon destinataire", étudiée par L. Agostiniani (1981), *mini θanirsiie turice hvuluves/mi mla[χ] mlakas*, qui est portée sur deux éléments d'une anse à décor ajouré représentant des quadrupèdes ailés, qui devait appartenir à une amphore de bucchero. La graphie est cependant relativement différente dans les deux cas—recours au S normal pour la finale du gentilice dans Ve 3.9, au lieu de l'habituel signe en forme de croix, absence de ponctuation syllabique dans Ve 3.30. Le prénom du premier est bien évidemment Larice, attesté entre autres dans cette même série d'inscriptions avec Ve 3.3, 15/40, 16, 17 et peut-être 18, la présence ici d'un double verbe de dédicace, avec *tu]rice* suivant *muluvanice* envisagée par A. Morandi en 1989 n'étant guère envisageable et n'ayant pas été retenue par les éditeurs ultérieurs.[38] Le prénom du second est en revanche sans attestation ailleurs, mais est à l'origine un nom individuel qui est à la base de gentilices qui ont les formes, avec vocalisations diverses, Θanarsiena (ou Θanarsena) et Θanursiena, sur des linteaux de tombeaux de la nécropole de Crocifisso del Tufo à Orvieto (Vs 1.13 et 52), Θannursianna dans la formule de don inscrite sur une coupe de bucchero à quatre anses de 600 av. J.-C. environ provenant de Cerveteri (Cr 3.14).[39] Le même gentilice apparaît sur une coupe

[37] Maras 2002, 272, suggère une origine chiusienne: on a à Chiusi Hermanas au VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C. avec Cl 2.11, et les gentilices Hermnas (Cl 1.130–132, 1813–1814 pour le féminin Hermnei) et Herme (Cl 1.1020, 1021, 1395, 1810, 1861, 1954, 1956) sont fréquents à Chiusi à époque récente. Mais il est difficile d'être aussi affirmatif.

[38] Voir Morandi 1989, 590–592. Mais voir aussi Maras 2002, 264 no. 163; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 198.

[39] On a en Vs 1.13 *mi aveles θanarsienas* (mais dans Morandi Tarabella 2004, 249, lecture *θanarsenas*), en 1.52 *mi aranθia θanursie[nas* (mais voir Morandi Tarabella 2004, 253, pour une restitution en *θanursies*, ce qui ferait qu'on aurait affaire au nom individuel de base, employé ici comme gentilice alors qu'il l'est en Ve 3.30 comme prénom), en Cr 3.14 *mini kaisie θannursiannas mulvannice*. On peut par ailleurs signaler le Θanursi isolé qui se lit sur le graffite d'une coupe attique du milieu du V^e^ siècle av. J.-C., de Chiusi (Cl 2.23), qui peut être un prénom ou un nom féminin.

de bucchero de la même époque, trouvée à Mazzano Romano, dans l'*ager Faliscus* (Naso 1994, 263–264: *leθaie mulvanice mine vhulves*), avec une forme du nom sans anaptyxe (et graphie avec notation du [f] par HV et non VH, ponctuation syllabique et sifflante de type S). Le gentilice est bien évidemment formé sur le latin (ou falisco-latin) *fulvus*, blond; ce gentilice est ici le nom individuel tiré de ce mot employé directement comme nom de famille, sans suffixation particulière, à la différence du dérivé en *-na* Vhulvena/Fulvena/Vhuluena qui se lit sur trois tombes de la nécropole de Crocifisso del Tufo, dans la partie finale du VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C. (Vs 1.32: *mi larθia fulvenas atrś*; Vs 1.45: *mi aveles vhuluenas rutelna*;[40] Vs 1.100: *mi aviles vhulvenas*). Il est impossible de déterminer si on a affaire à une ou plusieurs familles de ce nom et s'il convient de les attribuer à Véies ou à une autre centre proche des zones de parlers de type latin. En tout cas il est clair qu'on a affaire à une *gens* d'origine non étrusque, de la zone falisco-véienne en général.[41]

Laris Leθaie

Le nom de ce personnage, écrit avec les caractères graphiques les plus typiques de cette série d'inscriptions (ponctuation syllabique, emploi de la croix de Saint André comme signe de sifflante), est inscrit sur un fragment d'une coupe étrusco-corinthienne du peintre des grandes rosaces (Pittore dei Rosoni) qu'une récente trouvaille dans le matériel provenant des fouilles de M. Pallotino a permis de compléter par un fragment attenant, donnant la signature de l'artiste qui a réalisé l'objet, un certain Velθur Ancinies, si bien que cette inscription, Ve 3.44, peut maintenant se lire avec un double formulaire, de don puis de fabrication, *mini muluvanice laris leθaies mi(ni) zinace vel[θur a]ncinies*. Cela bien sûr ouvre des perspectives importantes sur l'idée qu'on peut se faire de cet artiste, mais celles-ci n'ont pas à nous retenir ici.[42] Le dédicant, Laris Leθaies, porte un gentilice apparenté au prénom, parfois utilisé

[40] Sur les raisons de préférer cette lecture, qui est celle de *CIE* 4952, à celle de *ET*, *vhulχenas*, Morandi Tarabella 2004, 199; ce personnage porte un cognomen, Rutelna, équivalant au latin Rutilius, sur lequel Rix 1963, 304.

[41] Dans ce sens Morandi Tarabella 2004, 640.

[42] Voir Colonna 2002b; également Morandi Tarbella 2004, 58–59. Le personnage (dont le nom est formé sur la base sabino-latine qui a donné le prénom du roi Ancus Marcius) serait un artiste qui a été actif à Vulci dans la première moitié du VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C. puis serait venu se fixer à Véies.

comme gentilice, Leθe, dont Emil Vetter, dans un article important, a suggéré, à partir de ses occurrences dans les inscriptions récentes, qu'il ait désigné spécifiquement des personnages de condition non libre, ensuite affranchis.[43] Si cette analyse est valable déjà pour le VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C., cela signifie que cet individu, capable de faire appel à un artiste qui signe fièrement son œuvre pour lui faire exécuter une commande, serait d'origine servile.[44] C'est après tout, dans le même horizon chronologique, ce que la tradition affirme pour un personnage aussi important que le roi de Rome Servius Tullius, esclave devenu roi! Le nom ayant pu être attribué à des individus de naissance non libre dans des secteurs différents du monde étrusque, l'origine du personnage peut être diverse,[45] l'utilisation de ce même Leθa(i)e comme prénom à Orvieto, dans la nécropole de La Cannicella (Vs 1.142), n'orientant bien sûr pas vers une attribution à Volsinies.

Mamarce Quθaniie

Ce personnage est le dédicant d'un calice de bucchero qui porte l'inscription, sans interponction et interrompue à la fin avant le probable [s] qui terminait le gentilice (ce qui fait qu'on ne peut déterminer s'il était de forme S ou X), Ve 3.12 *mini mulvanice mamarce quθaniie[s ?*. Le nom est comparable, avec adjonction du suffixe *-ie*, aux gentilices Qutana, attesté sur deux inscriptions vasculaires du VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C., portant la formule de possession mi *qutunas*, l'une de San Giovenale dans l'arrière-pays de Tarquinia (AT 2.13), l'autre de provenance précise inconnue, mais avec un sigma quadrilinéaire qui oriente vers Caeré même s'il n'a pas ici la valeur différentielle de sifflante forte (OA 2.12), Cuθna, avec syncope (Tarquinia, Ta 1.197, début du III^e^ siècle av. J.-C.), Cutna, avec perte de l'aspiration,[46] attesté à Vulci (par un plat du

[43] Vetter 1948. Le rapport entre Leθaie et Leθe peut s'expliquer de deux manières, soit par l'adjonction d'un suffixe de type *-aie*, soit par le fait que Leθe serait la forme récente du même mot, Leθaie ayant évolué vers Leθe à travers un intermédiaire Leθae attesté à Orvieto comme prénom d'un Vircena (Vs 1.142: *mi leθaes vircenas*).

[44] Dans ce sens Morandi 1989, 58; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 278–279. Pour une évolution inverse, avec passage de [tn] à [qn], Morandi Tarabella 2004, 153, d'après De Simone 1968–1970, II, 178.

[45] M. Morandi Tarabella (2004, 691), notant que c'est la seule occurrence du gentilice, range la famille dans la catégorie de celles émergentes de Véies, ce qui est possible, et même statistiquement plausible, mais ne peut être tenu pour assuré.

[46] Pour une évolution dans ce sens, Maras 2002, 264.

groupe Spurinas, du début du V^e siècle av. J.-C., Vc 2.25), Tarquinia (Ta 1.72, 105, 197, Vc 1.100)[47] aux IV^e/III^e siècles av. J.-C., à Chiusi plus tard encore (Cl 1.79, 1562–1565, 1746, 2144). Comme le note M. Morandi Tarabella, la forme Quθaniie est exclusivement attestée sur l'inscription Ve 3.12—ce qui n'est cependant, pour les raisons méthodologiques que nous avons déjà vues, une preuve absolue de l'origine véienne du personnage.[48]

Velθur Θurtiniie

Ce nom est celui du personnage qui a offert une coupe de bucchero portant l'inscription, non ponctuée (avec graphie II pour yod), Ve 3.14 *mini mulvanice velθur qurtiniie*. Le gentilice, qui rappelle les Curtines de OA 2.49, inscription sur vase de provenance méridionale, du troisième quart du V^e siècle av. J.-C., et le Kurtinas (*kurtinaś*) de Cl 2.4, sur un vase de Chiusi du troisième quart du VII^e siècle, est formé par l'adjonction d'un suffixe *-ie* au nom de la ville de Cortone, *curtun* en étrusque (Co 4.6; cf. NU N1, *curt*). Il s'agit donc clairement d'un gentilice à sens ethnique, signifiant 'le Cortonéen', indiquant l'origine du personnage, mais témoignant également du fait qu'il n'était plus établi dans sa cité d'origine où une telle désignation n'aurait pas de sens.[49] C'est de la même manière, selon la tradition romaine, que l'immigré venu de Tarquinia Lucumon aurait reçu le gentilice Tarquinius, signifiant 'le Tarquinien', une fois établi à Rome.

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[47] Sur la provenance de ce document, qui est Tarquinia plutôt que Vulci, Colonna 1981, 273.

[48] Dans ce sens Morandi Tarabella 2004, 691; en revanche D. Maras serait enclin à attribuer le personnage à la région de Chiusi, à moins que ce ne soit à un milieu vulcien à cause de Vc 2.25 (les deux hypothèses sont présentées successivement dans Colonna 2002a, 272).

[49] D. Maras (dans Colonna 2002a, 272) attribue ce Mamarce Qurtinie à la région de Chiusi, tandis que M. Morandi Tarabella (Morandi Tarabella 2004, 692) le considère comme appartenant à une famille véienne d'origine non locale. On peut signaler l'existence à Caeré, dans le troisième quart du VII^e siècle av. J.-C., d'un Qurtuniana, dont le nom de famille est formé sur le même ethnique Curtinie/Curtunie, avec recaractérisation par l'adjonction du suffixe gentilice *-na* (inscription *mi satu qurtunianianas*, avec répétition fautive du groupe *nia*; voir Colonna 1991, 303; Marchesini 1997, 37 no. 43).

Raisina

Cette forme apparaît dans la séquence *]θena raisina[* (Ve 3.38) qui se lit sur un fragment de rebord de calice. On peut envisager d'y reconnaître un gentilice Raisina, qui pourrait être l'antécédent du Reisna attesté à époque récente dans la région de Chiusi et de Sienne (Reisna en Cl 1.2308, féminin Reisnei en AS 1.104, 355 et son génitif *reisnal* en AS 1.100).

Venalia Slarina

L'inscription Ve 3.13, incisée sur une œnochoé de bucchero, pose un problème de division de texte, que l'usage de la ponctuation syllabique ne permet pas de résoudre. La formule de dédicace, qui se termine, exceptionnellement dans cette série,[50] par la séquence *en mipi kapi m[i(r)] n[u]nai* étudiée par Agostiniani (1984), commence par *m[i]ni mulvanice venalia s larinaś*[51]—dans laquelle le *s* ponctué (de forme X) qui est écrit entre *venalia* et *larinas* peut aussi bien être rattaché à ce qui précède (ce qui donne une séquence Venalias Larinas) qu'à ce qui suit (ce qui donne Venalia Slarinas). Certains commentateurs, à commencer par M. Pallottino lorsqu'il a publié cette inscription en 1939,[52] ont préféré la première solution. Elle crée des difficultés pour Venalias, qui n'est pas un prénom et serait alors à comprendre comme un gentilice, avec une terminaison insolite en *-lias*, et devrait se combiner avec le second gentilice Larinas (ce qui aboutit à des solutions peu satisfaisantes: un personnage portant un gentilice double, mais sans prénom ? deux individus tous deux désignés par leur seul gentilice?). Aussi nous paraît-il préférable de suivre ceux qui envisagent un gentilice Slarinas, qui serait alors porté par une femme,[53] Velelia (prénom formé comme féminin du Venel masculin, avec dissimilation de *venelia* en *velelia*), selon une

[50] Sur ce point, D. Maras, dans Colonna 2002a, 272–273.

[51] La lecture … *lapinaś* de *Etruskische Texte* apparaît moins admissible; de même, on ne peut suivre la lecture *atlp[unie]* de Vetter 1955, 53–54, qui attribuait au signe en croix une valeur de T, comme cela était courant avant que son emploi comme signe de sifflante ne fût reconnu. Par ailleurs la division Veleli Aslapinas, proposée dans *ET*, qui fait disparaître le prénom Velelia qui paraît assuré, ne peut pas non plus être retenue.

[52] Pallottino 1939, 464 no. 12; dans ce sens également Morandi 1996, 126. L'hypothèse d'une erreur pour Venalia Larinas n'est pas écartée par Maras 2002 a, 270 no. 28.

[53] Dans ce sens, Maras 2002, 270; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 414.

combinaison de prénom féminin et de gentilice en *-as* qui n'est pas sans exemple dans l'épigraphie archaïque (Amann 2000, 86–87). On pourrait éventuellement trouver une confirmation de cette division dans le *sla* qui se lit dans l'inscription fragmentaire Ve 3.26 *itan sla*…, s'il faut reconnaître dans ce *sla* le début d'un nom comparable (mais la présence d'un gentilice à cet emplacement, après le pronom *itan* au cas objet, est problématique). Quoi qu'il en soit, ce Slarinas est isolé et ne permet aucun rapprochement.[54]

Laris Teiθurna

Le prénom de ce personnage, réduit à la seule lettre finale *-s* (écrite S et non X) dans l'inscription Ve 3.37 *]s teiθurn[*, écrite en *scriptio continua* et sans ponctuation syllabique, portée sur un fragment de fond de vase de bucchero, se laisse néanmoins restituer, Laris étant le seul prénom usuel se terminant ainsi. Le gentilice est certainement Teiθurna et nous sommes dans un des rares cas où il est possible de situer précisément la famille à laquelle appartient le dédicant. Le gentilice est en effet bien attesté à Caeré, par cinq inscriptions de don au contenu identique, *mi spurieisi teiθurnasi aliqu*, qui se lisent sur trois coupes et deux œnochoés de bucchero du dernier quart du VII^{e} siècle av. J.-C. (Cr 3.4–8), un de ces documents appartenant au musée Kestner de Hanovre, où il a été publié en 1966 (De Simone 1966) (coupe Cr 3.7), et les quatre autres à des collections privées (coupes Ve 3.4 et 8, œnochoés 3.5 et 6). Tous ces objets étant apparus sur le marché des antiquités dans les années 1960, la provenance de Caeré ne peut être assurée par les conditions de la trouvaille, qui restent inconnues, mais est suffisamment garantie par la typologie de ces vases pour pouvoir passer pour sûre. Comme l'a relevé G. Colonna, on se trouve certainement en présence du mobilier d'une tombe fouillée clandestinement qui a été dispersé.[55] Ce Spurie(i) Teiθurna appartenait à une famille de Caeré, ce qui trouve

[54] M. Morandi Tarabella (2004, 691) l'attribue à une famille véienne. Maras 2002, 272, estime que la formule *en mipi kapi m[i(r)] n[u]nai* oriente vers Chiusi.

[55] Colonna 1974; sur ces inscriptions, voir aussi maintenant Marchesini 1997, 45–46 no. 73; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 529–530. La graphie avec un [i] de ce qui est le prénom Spurie, pour lequel on attendrait *spuriesi* et non *spurieisi*, a été expliquée soit par une variante (de la même manière que le nom du dédicataire des lamelles d'or de Pyrgi est écrit tantôt Θefarie, Cr 4.5, tantôt Θefariei, Cr 4.4), soit par une erreur (Watmough 1997, 29 no. 27).

une confirmation supplémentaire dans la présence du nom, sous sa forme féminine, dans la marque de possession au génitif (Cr 2.73: *teiθurnaial*) portée sur un kyathos attique à figures noires de la collection Campana, aujourd'hui au musée du Louvre, remontant à 520 av. J.-C. et dont la provenance de cette ville est probable.[56] Le Laris Teiθurna du Portonaccio sera un membre de la même famille, d'une génération postérieure à Spurie(i) Teiθurna.

Velθur Tulumnes *et* Karcuna Tulumnes

Nous avons déjà eu l'occasion de parler de Velθur Tulumnes à propos de l'inscription Ve 3.2 et de ce qui nous paraît être le nom d'un second dédicant de cet objet, Pesnu Zinaie. Le nom d'un autre représentant de la même famille, Karcuna Tulumnes, apparaît comme celui du donateur d'une belle œnochoé de bucchero avec anse à rouelles trouvée lors des fouilles de Pallottino (Ve 3.6: *mini mulvanice karcuna tulumnes*). La graphie de l'inscription est du même type dans les deux cas et recourt aux traits les plus caractéristique du corpus épigraphique du sanctuaire: usage de la ponctuation syllabique et emploi du signe en croix comme signe de sifflante. Cela est en accord avec le fait qu'on a affaire à une famille de Véies: pour une fois le nom a des résonances dans la littérature, puisque ces deux Velθur et Karcuna Tulumnes du VI^e^ siècle av. J.-C. appartiennent à la famille qui est connue pour avoir donné l'occasion à Cornelius Cossus, en 438 av. J.-C. (à moins que ce ne fût en 426 av. J.-C.), de remporter les secondes dépouilles opimes de l'histoire de Rome, en punissant celui qui est présenté comme le roi de la Véies d'alors, Lars Tolumnius, du crime qu'il avait commis contre l'inviolabilité des ambassadeurs en faisant mettre à mort les quatre délégués de l'*Vrbs* venus protester contre la défection de Fidènes.[57] On se trouve en présence d'une des plus grandes familles de l'aristocratie locale, capable d'avoir donné un chef suprême à la cité dans le troisième quart du V^e^ siècle av. J.-C. Déjà, un siècle auparavant, elle manifestait son prestige en déposant dans le sanctuaire du Portonaccio des offrandes dont au

[56] On sera en revanche plus prudent sur la restitution du nom de Spurie Teiθurna, avec la forme diminutive du prénom Spuriaza en Cr 3.15, texte de don qui se lit sur un canthare de bucchero et où le nom du donataire apparaît sous la forme *spuriaza /…/rnas*. Voir sur ce point Morandi Tarabella 2004, 530 no. 1197.

[57] Nous avons étudié cette question (sur laquelle notre source principale est Tite-Live, 4, 17–21) dans Briquel 1991, travail auquel nous nous permettons de renvoyer.

moins celle faite par Karcuna Tulumnes est portée sur un vase de grande qualité. La même famille se maintiendra après la conquête de la cité par Rome, en accord avec la tradition qui affirme que certains des Véiens, et certainement ceux de la noblesse alors évincés du pouvoir par les éléments plus populaires, sont restés sur place, après avoir été intégrés dans la cité romaine: c'est dans ce sens qu'il faut interpréter le dépôt, dans ce même sanctuaire désormais romanisé, d'une cruche portant une dédicace à Minerve faite par un L. Tolonios, ainsi que d'une autre, offerte par le même personnage à Cérès dans le temple de Campetti de la même ville.[58] On peut ajouter, selon une remarque faite par M. Pallottino lors de la publication initiale de Ve 3.6, que le choix du prénom, rare et précieux, de Karcuna reflète bien le caractère aristocratique de cette famille,[59] dont le nom apparaît formé, sur la base *tulume-*, par une superposition de suffixes de formation de gentilices, celui étrusque en *-na* et celui, d'origine italique, en *-ie*.[60]

Nous avons retenu vingt noms de familles qui nous paraissent attestés—parfois avec des problèmes de lecture ou d'interprétation—sur les objets déposés en ex-voto dans la première phase de la vie du sanctuaire du Portonaccio, dans la première moitié du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C., vases dont les restes, brisés sans doute intentionnellement, ont été déposés dans le soubassement de l'autel qui fut ensuite édifié en ces lieux. Ils montrent clairement le rayonnement de ce lieu de culte, qui recevait les offrandes d'une famille locale de premier plan, comme celle des Tulumnes, dont la tradition romaine nous affirme qu'un des membres régna sur la cité au siècle suivant—et dont l'importance était donc comparable, pour cette cité, à celle qu'eurent les ancêtres maternels de Mécène, les Cilnii, pour Arezzo—celle d'un condottiere aussi illustre que le Vulcien d'origine Aulus Vibenna, celles d'individus connus pour avoir répandu leurs présents ostentatoires d'un bout à l'autre du monde étrusco-latin, comme ces Avile Acvilnas et Mamarce Apunie dont des cadeaux portant le nom ont été retrouvés, pour le premier dans une tombe d'Ischia di Castro, pour le second dans une tombe de Lavinium. Ce sanctuaire fut donc un de ces lieux de prestige où s'étalait le faste

[58] Sur ces dédicaces, Briquel 1991; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 549.

[59] Voir Pallottino 1939, 457 no. 2. Karcuna est un prénom en *-na* formé sur le nom individuel Karku (existant aussi sous la forme Karka, qui a donné Karkana); voir Marchesini 1997, 135; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 263, 549.

[60] Sur la formation du nom, De Simone 1989b; Marchesini 1997, 135; Watmough 1997, 38–41; Morandi Tarabella 2004, 550.

des princes étrusques à travers l'usage, bien dégagé par M. Cristofani (1975) dans un article qui fit date, qu'ils faisaient de la pratique des dons. À ce titre, ces inscriptions, avec les noms qu'elle présentent, témoignent du rayonnement panétrusque du sanctuaire—sans doute en grande partie lié à la présence, en ces lieux, de pratiques divinatoires comme l'a suggéré G. Colonna à partir de la nature du support de l'inscription 3.10, dans lequel il a reconnu une imitation en bucchero de boîte de *sortes* (Colonna 1985b). Il est vrai que, dans le détail, il est le plus souvent difficile de déterminer avec certitude l'origine géographique des dédicants—et nous serions sur ce plan plus prudent que certains de nos devanciers. Mais quelques cas au moins sont sûrs, et nous mettent en présence d'individus sûrement non véiens: c'est le cas du Teiθurna de Ve 3.37 et du Vestricina de Ve 3.15/3.40 (dont un parent se retrouve peut-être en Ve 3.3), d'origine cérite, du Velkasnas de Ve 3.10, peut-être tarquinien, du Qurtiniie de Ve 3.14, dont le nom renvoie à une origine cortonéenne, des Hvuluves de Ve 3.9 et 30, au nom latin (ou falisco-latin), et bien sûr d'Avile Vipiennas, d'origine vulcienne puis fixé à Rome. On verra aussi un trait de ce caractère international du sanctuaire dans le fait que, alors que la graphie des dédicaces, avec des traits aussi caractéristiques que le recours à la ponctuation syllabique, au double I pour noter le [y], au signe en forme de croix de Saint André pour la sifflante, à la répartition entre C, K, Q conforme à la nature de la voyelle qui suit, au digramme HV pour noter le [f], semble induire l'idée d'inscriptions réalisées à la demande sur place, par des scribes établis auprès du sanctuaire,[61] le choix de la sifflante finale des gentilices offre une grande variété, au sein même des inscriptions qui témoignent de la présence de traits locaux: la dédicace d'Avile Acvilnas use du même S à traits multiples, exceptionnel, que portent les vases offerts par le même personnage retrouvés à Ischia di Castro et, trait encore plus notable, le petit cheval de bucchero qui porte l'inscription OA 3.4 recourt à l'emploi du signe de sifflante de type M qui est conforme aux usages de l'Étrurie du Nord. Tout se passe comme si, le cas échéant, les dédicants avaient voulu signifier leur origine extérieure en faisant inscrire leur nom avec des particularités qui n'étaient pas celles de l'écriture locale—et en l'occurrence en jouant sur le choix des signes de sifflantes, qui est le signe de différenciation le plus net

[61] Voir en dernier lieu G. Colonna dans Moretti Sgubini 2001, 39; Maras 2002, 261–262.

entre les écritures des différentes cités étrusques. Cela encore est un trait de l'importance du sanctuaire pour le monde étrusque, en cette phase initiale de son développement et au moment où les structures religieuses de ce type sont seulement en train de se mettre en place dans cette partie de l'Italie. On constate en tout cas le succès qu'a connu ce sanctuaire élevé par les Véiens aux portes de leur cité, bien avant que les chefs d'œuvre de l'école de Vulca ne dotent le temple qui s'élèvera en ces lieux d'une parure que nous admirons encore aujourd'hui. Nous sommes à l'époque où la tradition romaine crédite le roi Servius Tullius d'une initiative analogue, avec l'édification du temple de Diane sur l'Aventin présenté comme un moyen d'assurer le rayonnement de sa ville et une hégémonie au moins morale sur l'ensemble du Latium:[62] les trouvailles épigraphiques du Portonaccio nous montrent que Véies a dû mener une politique du même genre, avec des moyens, d'ordre religieux, comparables—même si les pratiques oraculaires qui semblent avoir été un atout essentiel du sanctuaire véien[63] n'avaient pas leur équivalent à Rome.

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[62] Tite-Live, 1, 45; Denys d'Halicarnasse, 4, 25, 3–26.

[63] Dans ce sens, justes remarques de G. Colonna dans Moretti Sgubini 2001, 39. Un autre trait du rayonnement du sanctuaire, avec ses incidences politiques, est le fait qu'on y ait retrouvé un torse d'Héraklès remontant au milieu du VI^{e} siècle av. J.-C., puis, pour la deuxième phase de la vie du sanctuaire (deuxième moitié du siècle) deux groupes figurant l'apothéose du héros entrant dans l'Olympe guidé par Athéna, thème dont la signification 'tyrannique' est claire. Voir Colonna 1987b; Colonna et Baglione dans Moretti Sgubini 2001, respectivement 39–41 et 65–66, et 67–69.

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CHAPTER THREE

TEXTILE TOOLS IN ANCIENT ITALIAN VOTIVE CONTEXTS: EVIDENCE OF DEDICATION OR PRODUCTION?[1]

Margarita Gleba

From the earliest times, people brought offerings to their gods as tangible evidence of their belief. These votive gifts could be simple and derived from daily life or more elaborate and produced specifically for the purpose. Their place of dedication could be a natural landmark, such as a spring, cave, or tree, or an artificial construction, the latter becoming more elaborate with time with a precinct clearly marked off as a dwelling place of a deity.

Spinning and weaving implements have been found frequently in Italian votive deposits and sanctuaries, which range chronologically from the Early Iron Age to the first centuries BCE.[2] These finds not only add another dimension to our view of ancient religious practices but are also important for our understanding of the development of social values and traditions associated with textile production. Unfortunately, contexts for votive material are not always clear and it is not always easy to differentiate textile implements that served as *ex voto* from those used in the actual textile production process (Bouma 1996, 24–30). Nevertheless, on the basis of the published material it is possible to distinguish three groups of contexts differing in both intent and composition of material: actual votive deposits, foundation deposits and sanctuary workshops.[3]

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[1] This article stems from my doctoral dissertation *Textile production in pre-Roman Italy: Archaeological Evidence*, written under supervision and guidance of Jean M. Turfa. Many a loom weight cited here has been spotted by her in publications consulted for entirely different purposes. This humble offering is for her, my teacher, mentor, colleague and friend.

[2] On Etruscan votive religion, see Turfa 2006, who briefly reviews similar practices in other regions of Italy as well as in Greece. Also see Bouma 1996 and Bartoloni, Colonna and Grottanelli 2001.

[3] On the problematics of votive terminology, see Hackens 1963; Bouma 1996, 43–51. In the following discussion, all assemblages of votive offerings will be referred to as 'votive deposits'.

Votive deposits

Spindle whorls, spools and, especially, loom weights are common dedications in Etrusco-Italic sanctuaries, as well as in the south of Italy and in Sicily, where the practice was probably also influenced by Greek votive practices. For the most part, textile implements are present in deposits that are related to real cult sites with a wide chronological range, as opposed to deposits which were created on a particular occasion.[4] Table 1 summarizes information about textile tools from various votive deposits of Italy. While it is far from exhaustive, it illustrates the importance of textile implements in votive ritual. In an effort to be as comprehensive as possible, sites are listed at which textile tools have been reported, even when the precise number of tools has not been published.

The examples in Table 1 illustrate that, while frequently present in votive deposits, textile tools are never very numerous. More substantial quantities are noted in large sanctuaries, which were frequented for many centuries or in contexts for which other explanations can be suggested, as will be discussed later.

It has been often assumed that the presence of textile implements in votive deposits indicates a connection of the cult to divinities regarded as protectors of women and domestic activities (Mastrocinque 1987, 111). In the Greek world, for which we have not only archaeological but also literary evidence from early on, Athena and Hera were, of course, the two most important recipients of women's gratitude: the first as the goddess of the loom, the second as the patroness of marriage and domestic activities.[5] Textile implements are also common in sanctuaries of Demeter and Kore, Aphrodite, Artemis and Herakles.[6] Local divinities were common recipients of textile implements as well.

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[4] See discussion on different kinds of votive complexes in Pascucci 1991, especially 469–471.

[5] Textile tools and clay *kalathoi*, special baskets for storage of wool and food, are ubiquitous offerings at the sanctuaries of Hera at Perachora, Argos; see Baumbach 2004, 34, 91.

[6] Herakles was venerated in connection with transhumance and pastoral activities, and hence wool production (Santillo Fritzell 2004, 82). For this reason he is occasionally depicted with the spindle and distaff (Di Giuseppe 1995, 141). Gem impressions representing Herakles appear on some unprovenanced loom weights (Ferrandini Troisi 1986, 97). The importance of sheep husbandry and transhumance between Samnium and Tiati is suggested by votives in the form of loom weights, found in the 3rd–1st century BCE sanctuary at Coppa Mengoni (Antonacci Sanpaolo 1995, 87–88).

Table 1. Votive deposits with textile implements

No.	Site	Date	Divinity	Textile tools	Bibliography
1	Este, a) Baratella b) Tempio di Dioscuri c) Morlungo d) Caldevigo	7 c.–Roman	a) Athena/ Minerva?	a) N, SW, 30 S, 300 LW b) 2 LW c) 5 LW	Ghirardini 1898; Mastrocinque 1987, 97; Maioli and Mastrocinque 1992, 21, 32, 34–35
2	Padova, San Pietro Montagnon	7–?		7 LW, 2 S, 2 SW,	Dämmer 1986, 76; Maioli and Mastrocinque 1992, 37
3	Cupra Marittima, Sant'Andrea	7–6 c.		LW, SW	Baldelli 1997
4	Monte Giove	6–2 c.		LW, S, SW	d'Ercole, Cosentino and Mieli 2001, 339–342
5	San Vittore di Cingoli	5–3 c.	Water sanctuary	3 LW	Landolfi and Baldelli 1997
6	Bologna, Via Fondazza	2–7 c.		SW, S	Miari 2000, 154–155
7	Orvieto, Cannicella	6–3 c.	Vea	2 SW, 2 S	Andrén 1967, 72–73
8	Tessennano, Santuario Campestre	4–2 c.	Apollo?	5 LW	Costantini 1995, 107–108
9	Tarquinia, Ara della Regina	3–2 c.	Artumes	LW	Comella 1982, 185
10	Cerveteri, Vigna Parocchiale	6 c.		77 LW, 2 SW, 15 S	Moscati 1992
11	Pyrgi, a) Temple A b) Temple B c) *Piazza*	6–4 c.	a) Thesan/ Mater Matuta b) Uni/ Astarte	a) 7 LW, 1 S; b 2 LW; c) 1S, 1 SW	*Pyrgi* 1970, 247, 263, 439, 542–543, 647
12	Veio, a) Campetti b) Portonaccio	b) 6–2 c	a) Ceres	a) b) 3 LW, 3 SW, 1 S	a) Vagnetti 1971, 103, 153; Comella and Stefani 1990, 113; b) Colonna 2002, 194–197
13	Civita Castellana (Falerii) a) Celle, b) Sassi Caduti, c) Vignale	a) 7–4 c. b) 5–1 c. c) 5–2 c.	a) Juno Curitis b) Mercury c) Apollo	a) 23 LW, 1 S; b 6 LW; c) 2 LW, 1 SW, 4 S	Comella 1986, 93–97, 118; Carlucci and De Lucia 1998, 49–67
14	Rome a) Sant Omobono b) Comitium c) Clivo Capitolino d) Colle Oppio, Punto B	a) Archaic b) Archaic c) 6–2 c. d) 4 c.	a) Mater Matuta or Fortuna b) c) ?	a) LW b) LW, SW, S c) 3 SW d) 5 LW, 2 S	*Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 145 no. C64, 147; Gjerstad 1960, 240–242; Cristofani 1990, 68; Cordischi 1993, 42; Mangani 2004

Table 1 (*cont.*)

No.	Site	Date	Divinity	Textile tools	Bibliography
15	Tivoli, Acquoria	7–6 c.	Hercules?	1 LW, 1 SW, many S	Antonielli 1927, 230, 235; *Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 41
16	Pratica di Mare (Lavinium)	Archaic-3 c.	Minerva	350 LW, many SW	*Enea nel Lazio* 1981, 218–219; Fenelli 1991, 494, 500
17	Borgo le Ferriere (Satricum)	8–6 c.	Mater Matuta and other deposits	LW, SW, S	Bouma 1996, 390
18	Anagni, Capitolo-S. Cecilia	6–5 c.		LW, over 200 SW	Buddittu and Bruni 1985, 106–108; Gatti 1996, 135–138
19	Gabii, Sanctuary of Juno	4–1 c.	Juno	16 LW	
20	Segni, Temple of Juno Moneta	5–1 c.	Juno	4 S	Aldana Nàcher 1982
21	Norba	4–3 c.	Giuno Lucina	LW, SW	Aldana Nàcher 1982
22	Palestrina, Piazza Ungheria	4–2 c.		LW	Quilici 1983
23	Pithekoussai, Stipe dei Cavalli	8 c.	Hera?	3 LW	d'Agostino 1996, 61
24	Metaponto Archaic wall	6–3 c.	Demeter and Kore	LW	Adamesteanu, Mertens and D'Andria 1975, 282–288; Lo Porto 1981, 316
25	Timmari, Lamia di San Francesco	5–4 c.		1 LW	Lo Porto 1991, 169
26	Tiati, Coppa Mengoni	3–1 c.		many LW	Antonacci Sanpaolo 1995
27	Cozzo Presepe	4–3 c.		3 + LW	Morel 1970, 105–107
28	Taranto, Sanctuary of Saturo	4 c.	Aphrodite or Satyria	2 N	De Juliis 1984, 331, 366
29	Gela, deposit in a pithos	6 c.		LW	Orlandini 1962, 371

c. = century BCE; LW = loom weight; N = needle; S = spool; SW = spindle whorl

Most textile tools may have been used before dedication but at least some of them were made for the purpose. Occasionally, the recipient of the votive gift is named by an inscription. The inscriptions in most cases were made before firing, so it is evident that the object was created specifically to be dedicated. Ubiquitous is Athena, the guardian of the feminine crafts. In addition to the inscriptions with deity's name, loom weights decorated with the owl of Athena recall the connection

of the goddess with the art of weaving. Thus, 4th–3rd century BCE weights from Puglia have an owl with human hands in the act of spinning (Wuilleumier 1932, 47; Di Vita 1956, 43; Barber 1992, 106–107, 151).[7] A Greek terracotta of Athena Ergane with a dressed distaff from Scornavacche in Sicily, dated to the 5th century BCE, also illustrates the goddess at the task of spinning.[8] The depiction of Athena Ergane with spindle and distaff was typical but Pausanias (7.5.9) notes that Athena Polias of Eretria also had these attributes. Other gods, whose inscribed names or stamped attributes appear on loom weights, are Herakles, Demeter, Hera and the Fates.

Italian counterparts of the Greek divinities received similar gifts. A loom weight fragment inscribed *VEI* was found by the western wall of Roselle; it has been dated *c.* 300 BCE (van der Meer 1987, 113). The excavator suggested that the object was created for the goddess Vea (Ceres/Demeter). Another inscribed loom weight of unknown provenance is currently in the Civic Museum at Viterbo (Emiliozzi 1974, 243 no. 527).[9] It reads, in Etruscan, *ATI* and, according to Emiliozzi, may have been dedicated to Mater Matuta.[10] Recently, loom weights with letters possibly signifying their votive purpose were excavated at Campo della Fiera, an area of Orvieto believed to have been the site of Fanum Voltumnae, a major Etruscan sanctuary and gathering place.[11] Generally, however, the practice of inscribing loom weights with votive dedications is atypical in Etruria, yet common in South Italy, where it may have been imported by the Greek settlers.[12]

In South Italy, we find loom weights inscribed with the names of Greek divinities, such as Athena, Hera, Demeter and Herakles (Wuilleumier 1932, 38–39; Orlandini 1953, 442; Ferrandini Troisi 1986, 97; Di Giuseppe 1995, 141). An unprovenanced loom weight from Sicily bears an inscription *ΧΑΡΙΤΕΣ*, which is interpreted as a dedication to

[7] Pyramidal weights with an owl have also been found in Athens.

[8] On this find and on the cult of Athena Ergane in Greece, see Di Vita 1954. It should be noted that, the dating for the terracotta is based on stylistic grounds.

[9] The collection also houses numerous other weights that were inscribed with single letters before firing.

[10] It could, however, be a name or mean 'mother'. See discussion in Ambrosini 2002, 159.

[11] I am grateful to Simonetta Stopponi for this information.

[12] Only two possible cases of the same practice have been documented in Etruria. See Ambrosini 2002, 159, who justly notes that in the absence of clear context for either loom weight, it is impossible to make judgments about the destination of these objects.

the Graces, who were also regarded as patrons of textile crafts (Pace 1946, 482).[13]

Different views have been expressed as to the meaning of textile implements in votive and sacred contexts: they may have been attached to (matrimonial) garments given to the deity; used to close small bags, which contained food to be eaten at the sacrificial meal; given to ask protection over weaving; or to symbolize the work of a wedded woman (Bouma 1996, 392). It has also been suggested that this category of votive objects is connected to the rite of passage into adulthood or marriage (Chieco Bianchi 1988, 67; Maioli and Mastrocinque 1992, 27).

It has also been argued that weights themselves were not votive gifts but instead, were attached to garments or other textiles (Mingazzini 1974, 204–206). This view, however, does not explain their presence in small votive deposits and it also does not explain the presence of other textile implements, such as spindle whorls, spools and needles in votive contexts. It is also unlikely that anyone wanting to dedicate a garment would buy it on the market: surely these were woven at home with particular care, either by the dedicant herself if she was a woman, or, if a man—by his female relative). The low intrinsic value of a loom weight or a spindle whorl is not a sufficient reason for it being unsuitable as a votive gift, since, as in the case of the textile implements found in funerary contexts, it is the symbolic significance of the object that made it an *ex voto par excellence*.[14] This interpretation is confirmed by numerous dedicatory epigrams in the Palatine Anthology, which record women dedicating their spinning and weaving tools to deities.[15]

Foundation deposits

Loom weights have also been found in what have been identified as foundation deposits. So far, they have been excavated only in Sicily, so we are dealing here with a geographically limited set of rituals. Initially thought to be associated with sacred buildings and areas, and hence with some kind of consecration ritual, loom weights have since turned

[13] Together with the Seasons (Horai), the Graces were credited with weaving Aphrodite's robe; see Hom. *Il.* 5.338, and Scheid and Svenbro 1996, 57.

[14] See Ferrandini Troisi 1986, 97–98, for literary evidence.

[15] See Book VI: 39, 47, 48, 160, 174, 247, 284, 285, and 288. Objects, all dedicated to Athena, include wool combs, spindles, distaffs, shuttles, wool baskets and thread.

up in foundation deposits of non-sacred structures. The use of loom weights in the foundation deposits of sacred buildings starting in the Archaic period likely developed from the symbolic significance these objects already acquired in votive contexts.[16] The foundation ritual then spread to include non-sacred constructions as well.

Sanctuaries

Along the south and north walls of an Archaic building in Vassallaggi, six trapezoidal weights were found under the pavement (Adamesteanu 1958, 309). Three of these weights were deposited together with Late Corinthian pyxides, each systematically deposited in a small *fossa* carved into the bedrock. A similar series of small rock-carved *fossae*, dated to the late 7th to early 6th century BCE, each containing Ionic cups and a single large trapezoidal loom weight, were uncovered within the eastern room of a sacred building at Lentini (Adamesteanu 1956, 406, 413). In the sanctuary of Demeter Thesmophoros in Bitalemi (Gela), 30 weights inscribed *ΘΕΟΤΙΜΟΣ* and dated to the 5th century BCE were recovered on the south side of room G2 (Orlandini 1966, 20).[17] In Syracuse, loom weights were deposited along with pottery in small *fossae* underneath the Altar of Hieron, dated to the 3rd century BCE (Adamesteanu 1956, 413). These small deposits have been referred to as *θυσίαι*, defined by Hackens as "separate depositions of the remains of each single sacrifice" (Adamesteanu 1956, 413; Hackens 1963, 88–89).

City Walls

A votive deposit found under the Hellenistic walls of the acropolis in Morgantina contained a discoid weight (Sjöqvist 1960, 126). A group of pyramidal weights without perforation have been found in the fortification walls at Terravecchia di Cuti (Militello 1960, 57).[18]

[16] See Orlandini 1953, 443, whose interpretation of a purely ritual function for loom weights is, however, incorrect.

[17] Orlandini (1966, 20) interprets the inscription as meaning 'worthy of god', although it may simply be a personal name.

[18] Given that these objects are without perforations, they may have a function other than as loom weights.

Houses

In Gela, under the foundations of the north wall of the 4th century BCE building A, 25 loom weights were found deposited systematically with a small *lekythos* (Orlandini 1953, 442; Orlandini 1962, 352). Orlandini initially hypothesized that the building was a cultic area, because of the numerous terracotta figurines of Demeter found inside, but he later identified it as a private house. Not far from building A, under the east foundation wall of another late 4th century BCE house, 102 loom weights had been carefully deposited in direct contact with the foundation blocks (Orlandini 1962, 362). At the nearby site of Manfria, underneath the northern foundation wall of the 4th century BCE farmhouse, three trapezoidal and three discoid weights were found under a large kylix (Adamesteanu 1958, 297, 308).

The significance of the presence of loom weights in foundation deposits has not been explained satisfactorily thus far. Mingazzini argued that loom weights in these contexts either were utilized as reinforcement material, or that they originally had some function other than loom weights (Mingazzini 1974, 212–213). While the first function is unlikely, it is possible that the weights may have had some role in the foundation ritual that had nothing to do with textile production. Alternatively, the association of the loom with household activities and consequently with the house may have lead to the use of loom weights as a token of the loom to symbolically strengthen the physical foundations of the house.

Sanctuary textile workshops

As was noted in the introduction, it is frequently difficult to identify the exact nature of the contexts of materials classified as votive. Just because the function of a structure from which the material was recovered had been religious does not automatically endow all objects found inside and in its immediate vicinity with a sacred significance (cf. Warden in this volume). As is made clear from the examples listed above, the number of textile implements in votive contexts is relatively small, excepting a few cases of very large deposits, which were used for a considerable amount of time. When large concentrations of loom weights are found in sanctuaries, a different use for them can be postulated: they may have been utilized in the actual production of sacred garments within the sanctuary.

Greece: literary evidence

The ritual weaving of garments for cult statues was a well-documented phenomenon in Archaic and Classical Greece. That weaving activities took place in sanctuaries is known from the literary sources (Paus. 3.16.2; 6.24.10). Moreover, "the essential feature of this type of ritual is the weaving and dedication of the garment" (Mansfield 1985, 443). Examples include the cults of Athena Polias in Athens, Hera at Olympia, Argive Hera and Apollo at Amyklai.[19]

The best known example is the peplos for the Athena Polias in Athens woven every year by young girls called Arrhephoroi who were assisted by Ergastinai.[20] Together with the priestesses of Athena, the Arrhephoroi warped the loom on the day of Chalkeia, a festival of Athena Ergane and Hephaistos; then they wove the peplos (Mansfield 1985, 260, 262, 283).[21] The Ergastinai spun the yarn for the peplos and may have assisted in its weaving (Mansfield 1985, 279, 285; Lefkowitz 1996, 79).[22] The peplos took nine months to complete (Mansfield 1985, 283). During the time when the peplos was woven, the Arrhephoroi lived on the Akropolis but it is not known whether the weaving also took place there.[23] It is possible that the loom was set up in the Temple of Athena Polias.[24] The peplos was dedicated and placed on the statue of Athena Polias during the Panathenaic festival.[25]

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[19] Although dedication of garments to gods was a regular practice, the ritual weaving of textiles for the statue or temple is not common.

[20] On literary evidence for the peplos, see Mansfield 1985, who has suggested that another, larger, peplos was made every four years by professional male weavers and that this was displayed like a sail on a mast during the Greater Panathenaia. On Arrhephoroi and Ergastinai, see Mansfield 1985, 260–297. On the peplos also see Barber 1992.

[21] On the number of Arrhephoroi, see Mansfield 1985, 270–271.

[22] It is possible that the two terms are synonymous, rather than titles of different groups of workers. On the other hand, because spinning takes a much longer period of time, it is easy to imagine a much more numerous group of women (such as the group of over a hundred Ergastinai mentioned in the late 2nd century BCE decrees IG II/III^2 1034 and 1036b) who performed the task. The weaving, on the other hand, could easily be accomplished by two or four Arrhephoroi under the supervision of the priestess(es).

[23] On the Athenian Akropolis, a small square building constructed at the end of the 5th–beginning of the 4th century BCE has been identified as the House of the Arrhephoroi; see Stevens 1936, 490; Mansfield 1985, 275–276; Lefkowitz 1996, 79.

[24] On other possibilities, see Mansfield 1985, 283–284.

[25] The robe, being folded by an Arrhephoros (?) and the chief priest during the Panathenaic procession, is probably shown on the Parthenon Frieze (figures E 34 and E35); see Fig. 72 in Barber 1992, 113; Neils 1996, 185–186. Also see Mansfield 1985, 292–293.

At the temple of Hera at Olympia a robe was woven for the goddess every fourth year by the Sixteen Women representing the cities of Elis (Paus. 5.16.2–3). A special house located in the agora of Elis was assigned for the task (Paus. 6.24.10). A similar tradition may have existed in Argos where a *patos*-robe was woven for Hera at the Argive Heraion (Mansfield 1985, 465–466; Scheid and Svenbro 1996, 23). Finally, in Sparta, a chiton was made for Apollo at Amyklai every year. Pausanias claims that the building in which it was made was located in the northern part of the city and was also called Chiton (Paus. 3.16.2).

It is notable that, in all cases, special structures existed for the production of sacred cloth and in all cases such a structure was within the sacred precinct of the temple. Thus we should re-examine large accumulations of textile tools (especially loom weights) excavated in votive deposits, as they may be evidence of production rather than dedication.

Italy: archaeological evidence

Several textile workshops have been identified archaeologically in Italian sanctuaries. In the so-called Weaving Hut (*edificio* Vb) at Francavilla Marittima, dated to the 8th century BCE, a row of meander-decorated loom weights found *in situ* provides evidence for textile production in cult buildings as early as the Early Iron Age (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 4; Attema *et al.* 1998, 337; Kleibrink 2001, 49; Maaskant-Kleibrink 2003, 63–76). The excavator of the site, Marianne Kleibrink, believes that "the looms associated with this house indicate special weaving activities" (Kleibrink 2001, 49). Because subsequent building phases of this building are demonstrably a succession of temples, it is usually assumed that the hut, too, was a temple, dedicated, according to Kleibrink, to the 'Lady of the Loom'.[26] The 7th century BCE terracotta *pinakes* from the site, identified as 'Athena seated in her house', have helped to identify the cult in the colonial period (Zancani Montuoro 1972; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 8; Weistra 2003).[27] In these depictions, Athena is shown seated and is holding a folded peplos in her lap. Another, contemporary terracotta image from the site, often called 'the Lady of

[26] See Kleibrink 2001, 48–52, for the summary of different construction phases.

[27] Other *pinakes* with the 'Ladies' procession', believed to stem from Francavilla Marittima, may indicate a ritual procession connected with the dedication of the peplos to the goddess, not unlike the Panathenaic procession in Athens; Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 11 and 12.

Sybaris' and identified as Athena, depicts the goddess standing, wearing a skirt decorated with figural bands (Maaskant-Kleibrink 1993, 9). Terracotta figurines produced at the sanctuary during the 6th century BCE depict dedicants holding cloth (Kleibrink 2001, 51, 53). The finds of spindle whorls and loom weights throughout the sanctuary confirm its association with the craft of textile production, and it seems likely that a special robe may have been woven for the patron divinity of the sanctuary starting in the Early Iron Age.

Later periods provide even more evocative examples. Large numbers of loom weights were found in and around the *Oikos* and the Rectangular Hall in the sanctuary of Santa Venera at Paestum. This shrine was dedicated to Aphrodite-Hera and was active during the late 5th and throughout the 4th century BCE. The Rectangular Hall yielded 93 weights, 47 of which were found in a group (Pedley 1990, 140, 148; Pedley 1993, 19, 118–120). They were identified as votive offerings on the basis of the assumed sacred function of the buildings and the fact that they were not systematically arranged, as they would have been if in use on a loom. The context is, however, not primary, as far as one can judge, and none of the weights was found in accumulations consistent with a votive or foundation deposit.[28] It remains a possibility that loom weights may have been utilized in the production of sacred garments within the sanctuary.[29]

Another sanctuary in the area of Paestum, the Heraion at Foce del Sele, also produced a significant number of loom weights. Specifically, 300 weights were found in the so-called Square Building, which has been dated to the late 4th–early 3rd centuries BCE (Zancani Montuoro 1966, 77; Greco and de La Genière 1996, 231–232). These objects, although initially published in an exemplary fashion, were erroneously interpreted as instruments for measuring weight (Zancani Montuoro 1966, 61).[30] A recent reassessment of the material established that, in fact, the Square Building might have functioned as a sanctuary textile workshop, which produced sacred garments, possibly for some sort of peplophoric ritual (Greco and de La Genière 1996, 225; Greco 1997).[31]

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[28] Pedley 1993, 19, however, uses the same reasoning to claim that the weights were votive offerings.

[29] Greco 1997, 196, arrived at the same conclusion.

[30] This is an unlikely interpretation since, usually, instruments for weight measurement were made of stone or metal, materials that gave a precise weight.

[31] A peplophoria has been suggested at the urban Heraion of Paestum on the basis of terracotta figurines depicting women walking to the right; Baumbach 2004, 116.

The number of loom weights indicates that at least three large looms could have been set up inside the workshop (Greco 1997, 194).

At Halae, also in South Italy, a large number of discoid loom weights was found inside room F' of the 4th century BCE West Building at the North Gate. The room may have been a textile workshop of the sanctuary of Athena (Goldman 1940, 479, 509–513; Mingazzini 1974, 208). One of the inscriptions found at the site mentions *πεταμνυφάντεραι*, interpreted as the weavers of the cloth, who may have been involved in official capacity in weaving a robe for the Athena of Halae (Goldman 1915, 448; Goldman 1940, 401).

Finally, as mentioned before, Pratica di Mare (Lavinium) yielded more than 350 loom weights from the 5th–3rd centuries BCE, of which more than 200 came from the Archaic Building to the NE of the altar complex, although a cultic function for this structure is not unequivocally accepted (*Enea nel Lazio* 1981, D189; Bouma 1996, 391). The number of loom weights strongly suggests a weaving activity within the sanctuary. So far this is the only non-Hellenic site providing evidence of textile activities within its sanctuary.[32] However, there are other indications that ritual textile making existed in the Italic tradition.

In Roman Italy, the offering of a cloak to the statue of a goddess was performed in times of crisis (Scheid and Svenbro 1996, 40). In one recorded example, in the year 125 BCE, an oracle prescribed the offering of richly decorated garments to Proserpina in order for the misfortunes to end (Paus. 5.16.5–6). Later, during the Second Punic War, Roman matrons offered a *palla* made with golden threads to Juno (Sil. Ital. *Pun*. 7.77–83). While no information on how and where these textiles were made is provided by the literary sources, archaeological evidence may provide tantalizing indications.

Conclusions

Textile production had both symbolic and economic importance for the household and its women, whose role as spinners and weavers has been definitively shown on the basis of burial evidence and iconographic material. Starting at the end of the Bronze Age, textile craft became a symbol of the female sphere of life, and women's contribution to the

[32] Given this sanctuary's association with matrimonial rites, however, such a state of affairs should not be surprising. For the discussion of the sanctuary, see Torelli 1984.

community as textile workers was expressed by the deposition of spinning and weaving implements in their burials (Bietti Sestieri 1992). The frequent presence of textile tools, particularly loom weights, in votive deposits of pre-Roman Italy is then hardly surprising, especially given the 'materialistic' aspect of Etruscan votive practices (Turfa 2006, 90). The more precise differentiation of these votive contexts is another matter, as is the quantity of textile tools found in each specific case. Textile implements, although common in votive deposits, are rarely present in very large quantities, suggesting that when significant accumulations of loom weights and other tools are found in votive and sanctuary contexts, especially concentrated in small areas, they may indicate production rather than religious activity.

Literary and archaeological sources thus provide ample evidence for the existence of temple- or sanctuary-based textile workshops in South Italy. Specifically, such workshops are present in sanctuaries of Athena and Hera. It may be argued that ritual weaving was a practice imported to Italy by Hellenic colonists.[33] However, the 'Weaving Hut' at Francavilla Marittima suggests a much older tradition in South Italy and evidence from Lavinium indicates that similar practices existed in Archaic Latium. Finding textile production areas near temples should come as no surprise since, after all, besides garments for gods, textiles were needed for priestly clothes (Bonfante in this volume) and, in Etruria at least, for the sacred *libri lintei* (van der Meer in this volume). It is probable that future review of material excavated in Etruscan and other Italic sanctuaries will show that textile workshops existed at non-Hellenic sanctuaries as well.

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[33] Besides the above-noted literary sources for the Greek ritual weaving, there is also archaeological evidence in the shape of textile implements. For instance, at the Argive Heraion, many spindle whorls, 55 loom weights, and 229 spools were found; see Waldstein 1905, 15, 43–44; Baumbach 2004, 91–92.

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PART TWO

PLACES

CHAPTER FOUR

THE ECONOMIC AGENCY OF THE ETRUSCAN TEMPLE: ELITES, DEDICATIONS AND DISPLAY

Hilary Becker

The Etruscan sanctuary was a social nexus that, like the city, offered a place for meeting and social competition, furnished leadership roles to elites and, at times, provided valuable resources to its worshipers. In order to understand the social and economic roles of the sanctuary, this paper considers the ritual nature of the Etruscan sanctuary in order to look beyond the sacral purposes to glean the underlying social functions it served.

Etruscan temples are not only places of ritual but also opportunities for community interaction and for the display of aristocratic status. Visitors to an Italic sanctuary would be met with a range of offerings given to the gods, ranging from terracotta votives to large bronze statues. When an elite person, or community, donates a valuable object, what is the social and economic value behind such an action? One issue of overriding importance to be considered here is to examine the different ways that the elites could participate in religious life in Etruria.

The reasons for making a dedication to a god can often be effectively illustrated by the Latin phrase *do ut des*—'I give something to you so that I will get some benefit or healing in return'. Offerings were also left to the gods in thanksgiving for fulfilled prayers or simply to honor them. There were socioeconomic dimensions to these customs as well and they merit our consideration in the context of noncommercial, social transactions.

In the Greek world almost anything could be used as a votive, including agricultural produce, personal objects (*e.g.* fibulae, spindle whorls), votive terracottas and large scale statues, among other items—and a similar range was dedicated in Etruria, as the papers in this volume make clear. It has been observed that a great deal of the Greek art that survives was originally intended as a votive offering (Whitley 2001, 136 and 141). The accounts of various Greek authors describe sanctuaries cluttered with offerings, to such an extent that occasionally the cult

image itself was not visible.[1] Jean Turfa describes a similar situation at Graviscae in Etruria, writing, "while many or most votives may have been heaped up in courtyards, stacked on tables, or buried in pits or wells, some, on the evidence of large stone bases, were kept on view for generations" (Turfa 2006, 97).

Votive dedications were made in Etruria beginning in the Protovillanovan and Villanovan periods "and a continuity of preference for certain types of objects characterizes the earliest days to the latest" (Turfa 2006, 90). Some of the objects that were dedicated were marked with an inscription, usually recording the dedicant, and often the item dedicated or the divine recipient.[2] Votive dedicatory inscriptions constitute one of the largest categories of extant Etruscan inscriptions. For example, an Attic kylix from Tarquinia reads, *itun turuce venel atelinas tinas cliniiaras* or "Venel Atelina dedicated this [vase] to the sons of Tinia".[3] An inscribed bronze base that is thought to have once held a statuette of Hercle (Herakles) records the dedication of Cae Siprisni on behalf of his son, for the god.[4] Another dedication is a bucchero vase left at the Portonaccio sanctuary at Veii that reads: "Avile Vipiennas dedicated me", an offering which is thought to have been left by the Vibennae brothers in the course of their expeditions.[5]

Religious dedications are a parallel social activity to the gifts exchanged between elites. In each case, the object represents a relationship and contract (whether perceived or actual) that has been established. Once inscribed, the text would serve to commemorate the transaction that resulted in the offering, thus commemorating the gift-giver as well. Inscribed religious dedications provide a way of advertising the dedicant's name to all others in the social sphere of

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[1] Paus. 2.11.6; 3.26.1; See also Strabo 8.374; Diod. Sic. 5.63; Pl. *Leg*. 909–910; Ael. *NA* 7.13.

[2] Votive inscriptions are formulaic, typically using the verb *mul(u)vanice*, which means to give or donate, or *tur(u)ce*, which is thought to connote solely sacral dedications (Schirmer 1993; Bonghi Jovino 2005; Agostiniani 1982; Cristofani 1975; Colonna 1989–1990, 878–879).

[3] The vase dates to *c*. 500 BCE. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 143 no. 20; *TLE* 156.

[4] Turfa 1982, 183. Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 175 no. 61. See also Pallottino 1982. The base dates to the Hellenistic period and is now in the Manchester museum; its provenience is unknown. Note that Colonna and Wallace read the dedicant's name as Cae Siprisnies (G. Colonna 1987–1988 in *SE* 55, 345; Wallace 2008, 209–210 no. 53).

[5] *TLE* 35; Cornell 1995, 135; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 140 no. 13; Colonna 1973–1974, 139–140; Briquel, this volume. The vase was inscribed pre-firing (Colonna 1973–1974, 139–140).

the temple or shrine, in a similar manner as gifts exchanged between elites (Cristofani 1975).

Votive inscriptions seem to be left predominantly by men, a pattern that also occurs among the gifts exchanged between elites. At sixth-century BCE Veii for example, there were 30 dedications which had the dedicant's name inscribed upon the object. And yet, just as with personal gifts, women also could participate to some extent, to which an inscription left at Veii by Venalia Slarinas testifies.[6] The inscription on the object is a testimony of the dedicant's buying power, especially in so far as the object is economically 'disposed of', as it will no longer be used by the dedicant and should end its life among the temple's stores.

Concerning the Greek sphere, James Whitley observed that items traditionally used for gift exchange could also be used for votive dedications (Whitley 2001, 141). Both activities fulfill similar functions as far as conspicuous consumption and display. Even as gifts to the gods are conceptually related to gift exchange, it is only the religious dedications that survive through all periods in Etruria. One of the reasons for the constancy of this institution is that religious dedications provided another outlet for socioeconomic transactions between elites. These dedications provided an opportunity for aristocratic competition and display, but one that was "sanctioned by and mediated through the gods" (Whitley 2001, 144).

Some of the large objects that Etruscan elites would have dedicated include bronze statues. As a corollary to the Greek sphere, many famous Etruscan bronzes were used as votive objects. For example the statue of the Orator ('l'Arringatore') from Lago Trasimeno,[7] the Mars of Todi,[8] the bronze figurine of a ploughman and his oxen from Arezzo[9] and the Arezzo Chimaera were votive objects. To focus on one of these, the Arezzo Chimaera has an inscription on its right, foreleg reading *tinścvil* or 'offering belonging to Tinia'. This statue is thought to have been

[6] Colonna 1989–1990, 878. For Venalia Slarinas, see *TLE* 40 and *SE* 1939 v. 13, 464 no. 12.

[7] The Orator, who is inscribed *Avle Metele*, was created in the 1st century BCE (Brendel 1995, 430–32).

[8] The Mars of Todi, even though found in Umbria, had an inscription in Etruscan letters and is generally thought to have been made in the Etruscan style. The inscription on this statue reads: "Ahal Trutidius offered this as a gift" (Jannot 2005, 136).

[9] Turfa 2006, 92–93; Jannot 2005, 134–138.

part of a larger group, including Bellerophon and Pegasus.[10] When the Romans conquered Volsinii in 264 BCE, they took as spoils 2,000 statues, and it is thought that these statues very probably were votive statues.[11] In the Hellenistic period, monetary offerings were also made to temples. In 384 BCE a temple at Pyrgi was plundered for 1,000 silver talents, which perhaps provides evidence of monetary donations to that temple or the temple's own reserves (Diod. Sic. 15.14.3).[12] And while the evidence for elite dedications represents only a small fraction of what existed in antiquity, the scale of this practice and the expense that could potentially be involved, at once reveal that the institution of elite religious dedications should in the future be tallied along with other elite transactions.

A final word on the life of these dedicated objects is appropriate in so far as what happened to these objects after the dedication. Some of the votives were ritually buried within the temple complex, a practice that was common all over the Mediterranean and was a way of making room for new objects. Votives made from metals could be melted down for use as ceremonial objects in the temple, and we know that this occurred in Greece.[13] It will also be suggested below that some votive objects could potentially be used by the administrators of the temple as a potential asset.

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[10] The statue dates to the second quarter of the 4th century BCE and was found outside of the Porta S. Lorenzo of Arezzo in 1553. See Bonfante and Bonfante 2000, 147 no. 26; *CSE* USA 3; Brendel 1995, 327, 471 fn. 3. Also Colonna 1989–1990, 885 fn. 60; Cygielman 1990.

[11] Plin. *HN* 34.16; Jannot 2005, 136. Other evidence for the looting of the sanctuary at Volsinii may be found in a pair of inscribed bronze greaves (manufactured *c.* 525–500 BCE, inscribed *c.* 500–450 BCE) that are thought to have originally come from Volsinii but later traveled to Perugia, where they were later buried in a family tomb (Bonfante and Bonfante 2000, 144 no. 22). See also Colonna 1999.

[12] "Dionysius, in need of money, set out to make war against Tyrrhenia with sixty triremes. The excuse he offered was the suppression of the pirates, but in fact he was going to pillage a holy temple, richly provided with dedications, which was located in the seaport of the Tyrrhenian city of Agylle, the name of the port being Pyrgi…he overpowered the small number of guards in the place, plundered the temple, and amassed no less than a thousand talents" (trans. C. H. Oldfather, Loeb Classical Library).

[13] Van Straten 1981, 80; *IG* II^2 1534.

Offerings on behalf of a city or general

Religious offerings could also be made by a city or a general on behalf of his city. An example of this practice from the Greek world includes helmets that were dedicated at Olympia, the inscriptions of which commemorate the defeat of the Etruscans at the battle of Cumae by Hieron of Syracuse. The inscription reads: "Hieron the Deinomenid and the Syracusans, to Zeus, the Etruscan [spoils] from Cumae".[14] An Etruscan city or general offered a similar dedication to Apollo at Delphi in the form of a tripod with an inscription on its base, the latter of which survives (Cristofani 1985, 256 no. 9.20). Mauro Cristofani suggested that this offering may have been left by a city, possibly Caere since the city was attested to have a treasury at Delphi (Strabo 5.2.3). Cristofani also suggested that, especially since the inscription is only partially extant, the name of an Etruscan person and perhaps even a general may have once been recorded on this tripod. Finally a comparable example in Etruria may be recorded on the marble slabs known as the *Elogia Tarquiniensia*, which may mention bronze objects (a bronze crown and possibly shields) given by Velthur Spurinna to a god following a military campaign.[15]

Civic dedications on behalf of a town or group of citizens may be hypothesized as well. For example, Colonna has suggested that the Arezzo Chimaera and its statuary group could also have been a public dedication (Colonna 1989–1990, 878 fn. 60).[16] Indeed so many votive objects wherein the dedicant is not named leave open the possibility, at the very least, that they could have been given by an individual or a town.

Another important category of religious dedications are temples vowed by generals. As will be shown, temple dedications were a pious and evidently socially viable way to expend wealth and celebrate the reputation of the city and its elites. The elite families of the Roman Republic—especially those with potentially eligible magistrates among

[14] Translation in Turfa 1986, 75. For examples see Daux 1960, 721, fig. 12; Cristofani 1985, 256–257 no. 9.21.1–2. Also Jeffery 1961, 265, no. 7 pl. 51. The historical event is recorded by Pindar in *Pythian* 1.71–75.

[15] Cristofani 1985, 255–256 no. 9.19. Torelli 1975, 30–38. Cristofani also notes that the inscription could instead refer to a golden object received by Spurinna.

[16] Colonna believes that the absence of a donor's name on the inscription might indicate that this dedication was a public or community gift. See the notes on the Chimaera above.

their ranks—encouraged an environment of competition and conspicuous display between elite families that was accentuated even further by the constrictive course of the *cursus honorum*. One of the ways that a Republican elite person could promote himself was by constructing a temple. In the course of a military campaign, a general could vow a temple to a particular god to ask for help in a particular engagement. After a victory, the general would then fulfill his vow by the construction of said temple. This temple would be a useful gift to all community members as yet another outlet for worship but the political purpose of this temple must not be ignored. The temple would forever be associated with the specific general and campaign during which it was vowed and this association would hold true for his descendents as well. For example, Q. Lutatius Catulus, before he began the final battle at Vercellae in 101 BCE, made a vow to *Fortuna Huiusce Diei*.[17] This temple, now known as Temple B, came to be built in the Campus Martius in the area of the modern Largo Argentina.[18] This temple was built next to that of his ancestor, C. Lutatius Catulus, who had vowed a temple to Juturna (now known as Temple A) during the First Punic War.[19] The visibility and accomplishment of the *gens* Lutatia would be promoted by means of these temples, a factor that could only enhance the political ambitions of future family members. While this is not the only means whereby temples originated in the Republic, temples dedicated by generals were significant religious dedications that were imbued with important socio-political overtones.[20]

The Pyrgi plaques may be our only record of such a practice at work in Etruria during the Archaic period. The plaques record the thanks of "the ruler of Caere", Thefarie Velianas, for the support of Uni/Astarte.[21] In return, the ruler pledges a temple (or shrine) to the goddess, a temple that Giovanni Colonna connects to Temple B at Pyrgi (Colonna 2006, 155). While there is otherwise very little evidence

[17] Gros 1995; Plut. *Mar.* 26.3; Varro *Rust.* 3.5.12; Cic. *Verr.* II, 4.126.

[18] The temple was built in 87 BCE on July 30th, the anniversary of the victory over the Cimbrians.

[19] Coarelli 1996; Ov. *Fast.* 1.463; Ziolkowski 1992, 95–96.

[20] It is known that 37 new temples (77% of the Republican temples for which we have evidence concerning the foundation) were vowed during military expeditions; for 26 of these temples, the name of the specific general that vowed the temple is preserved (Orlin 2002, 20). For a survey of the other occasions that are known to have prompted temple dedications in the Republic, see Orlin 2002, 18–33.

[21] Turfa 2006, 91; Bonfante and Bonfante 2002, 64–68; Turfa 1986, 76–77; Colonna 1965. The plaques are thought to date *c.* 500 BCE (Turfa 1986, 77).

concerning the dedication of individual temples and shrines in Etruria it is reasonable to assume that the financing for at least some of these structures, and the maintenance thereof, was sponsored by elite families' coffers.

Elite families are intrinsically connected to the religious sphere. The *etrusca disciplina* was maintained by elite families in each territory (Jannot 2004, 4,127 and de Grummond 2006a, 34–35). According to Tacitus, the emperor Claudius referred to elite Etruscan families maintaining ritual (*Ann.* 11.15). According to Cicero, Aulus Caecina, an elite man from Volterra, learned the religious teachings from his father (*Fam.* 6.6.3). The maintenance of this wisdom was a part of the civic obligations of elite families—and a part of their claim to political power.

Further, there is an association between particular elite families and a specific god, much like the Pontii and Penarii families administered the cult of the *Ara Maxima* of Hercules at Rome. According to Livy, the statue of Juno in Veii was handled only by a priest of a certain family (*certae gentis sacerdos*) and this was thought to pose a potential problem for moving that statue to Rome after the fall of Veii (Livy 5.22). On the Capua tile, an Etruscan religious calendar, certain families are responsible for certain rites or sacrifices, such as the Velthur family for the month of June (Jannot 2005, 81; *TLE* 2). Livy also provides a record of a king of Veii, who was the elected annual leader of the Fanum Voltumnae (a major Etruscan sanctuary), and who was responsible for providing actors for the games associated with the festival (Livy 5.1.5).

An inscription on the sarcophagus of Laris Pulenas, wherein he lists his ancestors and the deeds of his life, may provide another example of a family dedicated to religious pursuits (Fig. 10). The inscription informs us that Laris Pulenas wrote a *liber haruspicinus* and administered the cult of Catha and Pacha (Bacchus) for the people of Tarquinia. His great-grandfather, Laris Pule the Greek, is thought also to have been a priest, because his name echoes that of the famous Greek seer Polles; Jacques Heurgon believes that they are either descended from Polles or that the name of the Etruscan priests was chosen intentionally to evoke his tradition.[22] The association of the family name Polles/Pule and religious office is carried further by a possible descendant, the

[22] Heurgon 1964, 235–236; Bonfante and Bonfante 2000; van der Meer 1987, 129–130, 172–173; *TLE 131.* For Polles the diviner, see Drac. *Romul.* 8.480.

Roman consul of the 2nd century CE Pollenius Auspex, whose cognomen references divination (Heurgon 1964, 236). Whether we think of the Pulenas or the Velthur family, we can agree with Jannot that, "in Etruria some cults that appear to serve the whole city-state were in reality dominated by a single family" (Jannot 2005, 82).[23]

Thus it seems that there were different ways that elites in particular could participate within the religious sphere. They could offer donations, including objects that otherwise might have been suitable for gift exchange. Some elites may have been involved in the administration of a cult or temple, and could in rare circumstances have even sponsored a temple. Above, the life of votive objects once they had been dedicated has been considered. I suggest yet another post-dedication use for some of the objects. Is it possible that some of the votives were meant for use and appropriation by the elites who administered the cult? Agricultural produce with its short life could very reasonably have been used for such a purpose, especially since the dedication of produce may not have always overlapped with sacrificial meals. Karl Polanyi, considering ancient societies in general, observed that, "the personnel of the temples consumes a large part of the payments made to the temple in kind" (Polanyi 1957, 27). When coinage becomes more standardized and comes to be used as an offering, this too could have been used to support the temple's staff.[24] And while this system is not analogous to the modern Christian tithe in the way that it could support its staff, it is hypothesized that many dedications were, in fact, potential economic resources that could be utilized when needed.

Sacrifices

Edible offerings would have been useful for religious ceremonies but were also very likely an important resource that was redistributed to the community. Not only could agricultural produce be used by the temple staff, as mentioned above, but it could also be given to worshippers as a part of a religious ceremony. A range of edible sacrifices could be offered in Etruria including: liquid libations, first fruits, cakes, other

[23] A comparable situation seems to pertain to the *Ara Maxima Herculis* at Rome. The cult of the Ara Maxima was originally private and administered by two elite families, the Potitii and the Penarii. In 312 BCE Appius Claudius as censor made the cult public (*LTUR* v. "Hercules Invictus", "Ara Maxima"). See also *RE* III, Appius 32.

[24] For information on Etruscan coinage, see Catalli 1990.

small offerings and animals. The Etruscan liturgical calendar preserved on the wrappings of the Zagreb mummy provides an example of such rituals, instructing the priests and/or worshippers to "prepare the incense, offer with the decorated cup these breads".[25] The Etruscan god Vertumnus collected first fruits and harvest offerings in Roman times. Propertius has the god explain his nature, writing, "I am called the god Vertumnus… because I receive the fruit of the changing seasons… the grafter discharges his debt with a crown of fruit, after the pear tree bore apples from a foreign branch" (Prop. 4.2.11, 4.2.17–18).[26]

However, it is the sacrifices of animals and the communal meal that followed which merit consideration here, especially in so far as this practice provides an interesting way to look at both ceremony as well as the redistributive function of sanctuary. Sacrifices were an important part of Etruscan religion, as they were in Greece and in Rome. Servius uses a pseudoetymology in Greek to equate the Etruscans (*Thusci*) with their propensity to sacrifice (*thyein*).[27] The theme of sacrifice is also found in Etruscan art, where, in several cases, a central altar with a burning flame is the center of attention.[28] For example, on a fifth-century BCE relief originally made in the area of Chiusi, six people gather around the altar, about to sacrifice a bull (Jannot 1984, 23–25, fig. 105) (Fig. 11).

Many animal sacrifices in Greece, Rome and Etruria are thought to have involved only burning the vital organs of the animal.[29] The structure of Etruscan and Roman animal sacrifices was such that the gods were thought to only want the entrails and other inedible parts of the beast. The rest of the animal (the most delectable portions) would in turn be used for a communal meal for the worshippers. It was indeed convenient that the gods were thought only to want the grotty bits for

[25] Turfa 2006, 46. Roncalli 1985, 28–29, column 2.19.

[26] For more on Vertumnus, see de Grummond 2006b, 62–70.

[27] Serv. *ad Aen*. 2.781. Similarly see Isid. *Etym.* 9.2.86.

[28] An example of a scene of sacrifice is a funerary base originally from Chiusi (now in Perugia), which shows a large body of people grouped around an altar, as well as a scene of *prothesis* (Jannot 1984, 151–153, fig. 520 and 524). See also a Campana plaque from Caere, now in the Louvre, depicting a man standing in front of an altar and mirror from Palestrina that depicts a sacrificial goat and the preparations before the altar (Jannot 2005, 38–40).

[29] Theoph. (*peri Eusebeias*) fr. 6.1.15 (available in W. Potscher. 1964. *Theophrastus. ΠΕΡΙ ΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΣ*). Polyaenus *Strat*. 8.43 provides testimony of eating sacrificial meat in an inauspicious context. The complete sacrifice of an animal—when it was entirely burnt as an offering—in Greece was known as *sphágia* or *thysíai ágeustoi* and was used in times of crisis (van Straten 1981, 67).

as we know, Etruscans generally consumed a limited amount of meat, and thus such a sacrifice would have provided a convenient source of nourishment.[30] In this way, each shrine or temple served a redistributive function for the people that came to it, and thus a temple could fulfill a role comparable to that of the banquets hosted by elites.[31] The communal meal surrounding the sacrifice served to emphasize the centrality and dependability of each sanctuary within its social 'network', just as elite banquets were a means of reinforcing the prominence of the banquet-giver within his network.

Conclusions

A votive dedication represents both a point of contact and form of communication between an individual and a deity, albeit one-sided. A range of votive offerings, from the mundane to opulent, could be dedicated and this is a behavior that potentially everyone could engage in at some level. A farmer could dedicate some of his first fruits without depleting his own resources. On the other hand, more elaborate dedications might advertise the personal surplus of the dedicant. With this transaction, the elite person can promote his status, resources and compete with other elites. Indeed the public environment might very well have in turn encouraged elite competition within the bounds of this socio-economic system. That is to say, the dedication of a large bronze statue to a sanctuary on the part of one family might inspire awe as well as encourage other families to make similarly elaborate dedications. Thus the religious sphere is another outlet for peer polity.

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[30] Meat was probably not a regular part of the Etruscan diet, especially for the lower classes whose diet consisted mostly of cereal and vegetables. Cattle were used primarily for their agricultural work and faunal studies indicate that they became a part of the diet only after their productive capacity had waned. Faunal evidence from Roselle and San Mario indicates that the majority of sheep and goats found there were mature and thus used to produce milk and wool, while the sheep and goat population at Populonia seem to have been raised primarily for their meat (Corridi 1987–1988; Motta, Camin and Terrenato 1993, 114; De Grossi Mazzorin 1985). Pigs, on the other hand, were the only animals used primarily for their meat (Ciampoltri, Redini and Wilkens 1989–1990, 283). The utility of cattle, sheep and goats for their byproducts and capacity for labor, in the case of cattle, when combined with the faunal evidence indicates that meat was not regularly consumed and thus underscores the importance of ritual sacrifices (Barbieri 1987, 49; Ampolo 1980, 24).

[31] On the aristocratic banquet see Zaccaria Ruggiu 2003; Terrenato 2004 and D'Arms 1984.

It might also be hypothesized that lateral social customs such as gifts exchanged between elites presumably had expected boundaries. The understood principle is that gifts were gestures and tokens that would be reciprocated in kind in time (Mauss 1990, 35–36, 41; Finley 1981, 237–238). On the other hand, elite votive dedications may have had different precepts, in that it was a one-way transaction wherein the sacral context may have permitted more conspicuous display.

Sanctuaries offered a socially acceptable means for individuals, clans and cities to advertise their disposable income and good fortune, while mediating that message in the religious sphere. Just like the city and clan had stores of items that it collected, so too the Etruscan sanctuary collected the proceeds donated by individuals. And while many of these stores would come to be ritually buried and so removed from circulation, some of these offerings would have been used again.

In all cases, some of the reasons that prompt a votive dedication would be shared by both rich and poor donors: to celebrate a birth, to commemorate a death, to ask for help in sickness or advancement in one's profession (Schirmer 1993, 45). Even while these may have been some of the principal motivations for an offering, it can also be surmised that more costly dedications might be more common in times of great surplus, and thus a social custom could be fulfilled when it was most beneficial for the donor (Halstead and O'Shea 1982).

It is important to consider the economic force of the religious sphere in Etruria, for the sanctuaries are not passive agents. The sanctuary was an important center of redistribution within its community, providing food to its worshippers. Additionally, its staff may have reasonably utilized some of the dedicated offerings. At the same time, sanctuaries were an economic magnet for a great number of objects—most of which, whether specifically purchased for dedication or used in daily life and later dedicated, would fall out of circulation after they were dedicated. The magnitude of disposable expenditure that occurred at Etruscan religious sites is not insignificant. Also worthy of note is that some elite families were intrinsically tied to a particular deity or religious site. It seems that the Etruscan temple provides a forum for elite consumption as well as leadership. Thus the basic social roles that are important in daily life are reflected in the religious sphere. The economic agency of cultic practices and sanctuaries has been considered but little in Etruria and early Rome, although it was important. Clearly the combined forces of religious ceremonies and the dedicatory habit were a meaningful and constant element in Etruscan socio-economic life.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE HISTORICAL AND RELIGIOUS CONTEXT OF VOWS FULFILLED IN ETRUSCAN TEMPLE FOUNDATIONS[1]

Ingrid Edlund-Berry

The Capitoline temple in Rome is an excellent example of a building for which we have rich archaeological evidence as well as a multitude of historical references.[2] Regardless of the problems of determining the exact plan of the temple, and the details of its decoration, it is clearly tied to a time period in Rome when building activities were initiated by the members of a ruling family, in this case the Tarquins. According to the narrative in Livy, the building was first 'vowed' by Tarquinius Priscus during the Sabine war (Livy 1.38), completed by Tarquinius Superbus with the help of Etruscan engineers (Livy 1.56), and ultimately dedicated by the newly elected consul, Marcus Horatius Pulvillus, in the first year of the Roman Republic, 509 BCE (Livy 2.8).[3]

Although seen through the account of later, Roman sources, the Capitoline temple exemplifies the cultural milieu of Rome during the 6th century BCE. Its layout and decoration fall within the Etrusco-Italic framework, with parallels from Rome itself (temples at S. Omobono: Colonna 2005a and 2006, 155),[4] and at neighboring communities to the north (Portonaccio temple at Veii: Colonna 2006, 156–158) and south (Satricum: De Waele 1997 and Colonna 2005b). The account

[1] I am grateful to Margarita Gleba and Hilary Becker for taking the initiative of honoring Jean MacIntosh Turfa with a volume of papers by some of her many colleagues and friends. We have all benefited from Jean's knowledge of Etruscan culture and her generosity in sharing of her time with colleagues and students.

[2] For the Capitoline temple, see *LTUR* 3 (1993), 144–153; Richardson 1992, 221–224. The results of recent excavations by Anna Mura Sommella, published by Mura Sommella 1998 and 2000, and AA.VV. 2001, are summarized by Colonna 2006, 154–155 and fig. VIII.33. See also Cifani 2008.

[3] For the purpose of the discussion introduced here, I will not delve into the thorny issue of the Tarquin dynasty and the historicity of the dedication of the temple. For a recent analysis of the Tarquins, see Davies 2006.

[4] Parallel to the accounts of the Tarquins and the Capitoline temple, the cult of Mater Matuta and the erection of the first temple at S. Omobono are linked to king Servius Tullius.

of its founding and completion, tied to individual names of rulers, is paralleled with the formulas established during the Roman Republic for temples erected as the result of a 'vow' or promise to a deity in return for military success or in thanksgiving for favors already granted. As a result, the long list of such votive temples erected during the Roman Republic emphasizes the Roman belief in bargaining with deities and the importance of meeting one's obligations both in the world of politics and in matters of religion.[5]

For Rome's immediate neighbors to the north, the Etruscans, evidence of temples from different time periods and of varying size and decoration is plentiful. Due to the absence of local Etruscan historical accounts, however, written records of why these temples were built and who was responsible for their planning and execution, including the cost and manpower, are unfortunately lacking. Even to identify the Etruscan equivalents of such key Latin words as *templum* (temple), *votum* (vow), *locatio* (placement), and *dedicatio* (dedication)[6] we have to reach beyond the recognized lexicographical interpretations based on dedicatory and other types of inscriptions.[7]

While the Roman sources allow us to follow the creation of a temple from the initial vow to the selection of a site, the actual construction, and the final dedication, the lack of comparable Etruscan textual documentation makes it necessary to view the creation of Etruscan temples with different criteria. In the following, we will examine some of the important Etruscan temples for which a cultual context can be suggested primarily on the basis of archaeological and general historical evidence.

As gifts to a deity, both temple buildings and offerings of bronze or terracotta objects were linked to a specific place.[8] The location of such sacred places, with or without a temple building, is critical for our understanding of the cult practiced there. While votive deposits often appear at given locations tied to the natural setting such as springs, groves, or mountains, temple buildings necessitated a more conscious decision about their placement in relation to a settlement, road, or other

[5] See Aberson 1994 and Ziolkowski 1992.

[6] For the Latin vocabulary, see Orlin 1997.

[7] Following the sage advice of Jean Turfa, I will not quote some of the attempted translations and glossaries provided on a number of web pages. For the vocabulary of dedicatory inscriptions, including words pertaining to 'giving', see, for example Bonfante and Bonfante 2002.

[8] See, for example, Edlund 1987.

man-made feature. Although some temples may have been erected *ex novo* inside or outside the settlements proper, most major sites provide evidence of continuity through the presence of previous structures, ranging from altars to huts and small enclosures. Whether at powerful centers such as Veii, Cerveteri, and Tarquinia or at smaller settlements such as Fiesole, sacred areas originated on a modest scale already in the Bronze or Iron Age and expanded gradually through the centuries of Etruscan history.[9]

In addition to the emphasis on the location of temples, a feature common to both Rome and the Etruscan cities, Roman temples are usually associated with an individual in whose name the building was vowed. In the case of Etruscan temples, we can only seldom attach a name to a building, as with Thefarie Velianas, the ruler of Caere and temple B at Pyrgi (Colonna 2006, 145). More often, the erection of a new temple, or a rebuilding of an already existing structure, is connected with general historical circumstances. Thus, it is reasonable to assume that the size of a temple (as at Vulci: Colonna 2006, 155–156, fig. VIII.36) or the quality of the architectural decoration (as on the Portonaccio temple at Veii: Colonna 2006, 156–158, figs. VIII.37–40) coincide with a peak period in the city's political history. In other circumstances, specific historical events may have caused the building of a temple. Thus Colonna suggests that temple A at Pyrgi reflects Caere's effort to regain its control at sea after the Etruscan defeat at Cumae in 474 BCE (Colonna 1985, 129). The Archaic temple of Ara della Regina at Tarquinia has been interpreted as an Etruscan 'federal sanctuary', but its 4th century BCE replacement may reflect Tarquinia's important political status after the fall of Veii (Bagnasco Gianni 2002, 371; Leighton 2004, 173; Colonna 2006, 160). As the result of the battle against the Gauls in 225 BCE, the temple at Talamone was remodeled and adorned with pedimental sculptures commemorating the Roman victory (Colonna 2006, 163). Although not a 'temple' in an architectural sense, the sanctuary at Montetosto between Caere and Pyrgi, may have been built in commemoration of the killing of Phocaean prisoners of war after the battle of Alalia in 540 BCE (Colonna 2006, 145).

[9] For overviews of Etruscan sanctuary sites, see Colonna 1985 and 2006. The results of continued excavations and re-evaluation of old material at sites such as Cerveteri and Veii are yielding important new information, for which see, for example, Paoletti and Camporeale 2005 (reviewed by Turfa 2006a).

Once a vow had been made, and the desired outcome achieved, the appropriate Roman magistrates went to work in procuring a site to begin the construction of a temple (Ziolkowski 1992, 203–219). For the Etruscan temples, we lack information on who was actually involved in making the necessary arrangements. Likewise, the decisions about the plan of the temple and its decoration can only be deduced from the preserved remains. On the basis of the size of some of the temples (Capitoline temple in Rome, Ara della Regina at Tarquinia, main temple at Vulci), we can appreciate the building effort and the amount of manpower and funding involved in the process.[10]

Although it can be argued that the themes of the decoration of Etruscan temples rarely coincide with the cult of the deity or deities worshipped there, the choice may suggest the purpose of erecting the temple. For example, the depiction of Herakles and Athena/Minerva in Rome and Veii has been interpreted as a symbol of regal power (Colonna 2005c, 1183–1185; Winter 2005). Likewise, the plaque from temple A at Pyrgi, depicting the battle at Thebes, may suggest the conflict between competing individuals and the futility in such efforts for the welfare of the community (Colonna 1985, 138). Another example is the pediment from the temple at Sentinum (Civita Alba), built to commemorate the Roman victory over the Gauls in 295 BCE (Bradley 2000, 279).

Once a temple had been erected, its maintenance determined its subsequent history. Many temples, such as the Ara della Regina at Tarquinia, seem to have been kept in good repair throughout the history of the city (Torelli 1975, 186; Leighton 2004, 169), while others fell into neglect. Much like deposits of votive offerings, however, the decoration of temples was protected and, as needed, ritually buried as in the case of the ridgepole statues from the Portonaccio temple at Veii (Glinister 2000).

In conclusion, in searching for Etruscan parallels for the steps involved in creating a Roman temple, from the 'vow' to the 'dedication', we find that the concept of the 'vow' cannot be documented as part of the planning and execution of Etruscan temples. The reason for this may simply rest in the fact that the pertinent epigraphic or textual evidence

[10] As shown by the so-called workshop at the site of Poggio Civitate, the local production of roof tiles and architectural terracottas illustrates the high-level industry involved with any major building activity in Etruria and elsewhere: Nielsen 1987; Phillips 1993.

is missing, or that we have not yet been able to interpret the preserved Etruscan texts correctly. But, on the basis of the historical record (granted that it reflects primarily a Roman perspective), we may also suggest that the concept of the 'vow' or contractual bargaining with the gods is something that applied much more to the individual efforts of ambitious politicians in the Roman Republic[11] than it ever did to the Etruscan cities, including Rome during the reign of the Etruscan Tarquins. Although the Etruscans were constantly seeking to read the will of the deities through divination of different kinds, their ensuing actions usually resulted in votive offerings, with or without dedicatory inscriptions, rather than promises of even grander gifts to come.[12] Evidence from the Etruscan temples suggests that these buildings were part of the sacred places within the Etruscan landscape, and, as such, subject to the continuous use and protection granted both votive deposits and monuments. Unlike the Roman temples that were instituted as the result of politically prompted 'vows' to the deities by individual generals and statesmen, the Etruscan counterparts seem to be incorporated into the sanctuaries as a whole, and, while occasionally expressing a 'political' statement, they were more attuned to the religious context of the sacred place than to glory of a specific individual donor.

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[11] It is difficult to know whether Tarquinius Priscus was thinking as an Etruscan general or as a Roman king when he 'vowed' the Capitoline temple in return for success against the Sabines (Livy 1.38). I thank Penelope Davies for her insights into the importance of individual ambitions within the political scene of the Roman Republic.

[12] Turfa 2006b, 91, equates the Roman practice of a formal 'vow' to a deity with the subsequent 'payment' in the form of a votive offering. With many of the anatomical votives placed at sanctuaries we cannot tell whether they were presented primarily as gifts to ensure healing or as thank-you offerings after the fact.

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CHAPTER SIX

REMAINS OF THE RITUAL AT THE SANCTUARY OF POGGIO COLLA

P. Gregory Warden

Ritual is a physical manifestation of belief, but a ritual is also an action, or "a special type of action which is somehow connected to the belief system" (Bourque 2000, 20). Physical action is tantalizingly difficult to reconstruct through archaeological excavation. What remains is material culture, the sacred detritus that results from ritual or a series of rituals. This buried testimony is often elusive because objects are not actions, merely the result of them, but ironically ritual objects will only be understood through yet another set of actions: the rituals of the excavation, the laboratory, and the museum.

The offerings that provide evidence for religion at sanctuaries like Poggio Colla are usually explained as evidence for votive religion, a rubric that is both broad and potentially misleading, for not all objects found in sanctuaries are necessarily votive in nature, and the range of votive religion is vast.[1] There are countless ways for offerings to end up underground, and not just through ritual. Can we assume that dedications, after being displayed in the sanctuary, would eventually have been buried through a kind of secondary ritual? Would dedications always remain sacred? Certainly not in the case of a conquered sanctuary,[2] but even in other cases would offerings belong exclusively to the gods, or are there instances when dedications might be reused outside of the sacred space, thus recycled? And if so, then how would we know this archaeologically? Hoekstra has suggested that in the early Iron Age the social rhetoric of burial and bronze deposition created an economic mechanism that separated material wealth (metal) from its social (living) context, and that with time burial became the

[1] For which see Turfa 2006 with current bibliography.

[2] As pointed out by Glinister 2000, 61: "…broad belief in the sacredness of such places did not assure their inviolability in wartime.…when a place was captured by an enemy it was no longer regarded as sacred".

primary "arena for competitive consumption" (Hoekstra 1996, 61). This may be the case, but sanctuaries also continued to be areas for competitive consumption. In the Orientalizing and Archaic periods the ritual deposition of bronze continued in Etruria, especially in the north, but under different spatial and social structures in the context of organized sanctuaries. The economic result of massive giving to the gods is that large amounts of wealth are still taken out of circulation, but only if the contexts remain sealed, only if the dedications are not reused, recycled, or returned to a secular context. New evidence from the Etruscan sanctuary at Poggio Colla raises questions about whether such sacred contexts would always have remained closed.

Votive religion in structured, public contexts is a characteristic vehicle of religious observance from the 7th century BCE onward in Etruria, but we know very little about how the masses of offerings were handled. At issue here is the reconstruction and interpretation of aggregate ritual rather than single acts. If ritual is action that connects to a belief system, then a single act cannot be ritual unless it is understood as such and reproducible by others.[3] Thus single acts become collective ritual, and individual meaning becomes collective belief. A votive, say a bronze figure, would have had a specific meaning connected to the individual who bought it and dedicated it, presumably along with a prayer or vow, but the single object tells us more about the giver than the divinity. But while the gift is singular, the ritual is a repeated social construct, so that when that single bronze figure is found in a deposit with hundreds of other objects, as we will see is the case at Poggio Colla, secondary rituals have taken place that reveal more about the belief system than about the motives of any individual. The challenge is to move beyond the singular to the collective, for as Annamaria Comella has pointed out: "Sostanzialmente, i messaggi contenuti nelle offerte . . . mirano, in modo particolare, a dare informazioni sull'offerente o sul beneficio richiesto e, in misura minore, a fornire indicazioni sulla divinità ciu il fedele si rivolge" (Comella 2005, 51). While the nature of a single offering can be understood, at least in the most generic and banal way, aggregate ritual evidence can also have widely diverse meanings: foundation,

[3] In this sense I would argue that an action is only a ritual, for the purpose of elucidating belief systems, if it is perceived as such by others and if it follows established social norms.

celebration, propitiation, expiation, or even obliteration (Bonghi Jovino 2005, 43). And there will certainly be other possibilities.

The question is compounded by the fact that customs may have changed over time. Votive giving at Greek sanctuaries, for instance, certainly changes from the Archaic period, where it tends to be more personalized, to the Hellenistic period, where it becomes more public, or at least more concerned with the politics of display.[4] It is not at all clear whether this was the case in Etruria where the enacting of ritual would have been controlled by a theocratic elite that would certainly have been interested in ritual's communicative and performative aspects (Bourque 2000), but gifts will always have nuanced meanings. One of the most interesting aspects of Etruscan votive inscriptions is that two different verbs can be used for the action of giving. If recent interpretations are correct, one word (*mul[u]vanice*) could intimate exchange between persons of equal rank, thus connected to social structure and 'gift exchange', while the other (*tur[u]ce*) can be connected to giving in a strictly votive context.[5] All these questions, the intricacies of giving in a ritual context, are pertinent to a remarkable series of ritual contexts discovered at the northern Etruscan sanctuary of Poggio Colla.

The Mugello Valley Archaeological Project, a joint venture of Southern Methodist University, Franklin & Marshall College, and the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology, has excavated since 1995 the Etruscan settlement of Poggio Colla, in the Mugello basin, some 20 miles NE of Florence. The site was a rural sanctuary and settlement of long duration that spanned most of Etruscan history (7th–2nd centuries BCE). The acropolis, a fortified rectangle of one and a half acres, is spectacularly sited in a dominant position at the juncture of the Mugello basin and the Sieve river valley. From this advantageous position the Etruscans overlooked one of the main arteries that leads from the foothills of the Apennines to the Arno basin, the Casentino, and major Etruscan sites like Arezzo. Poggio Colla is at the edge of Tuscany; to the north are the mountain passes, usually snow-covered in winter, that open onto the Etruria Padana. Poggio Colla must have been a liminal site, at the edge of Etruscan dominion, but it also was situated with clear site lines of other Etruscan sanctuaries:

[4] For instance at the Demeter Sanctuary at Cyrene. Warden 1992, with reference to Warden *et al.* 1990. For a more general context: Linders and Nordquist 1987.

[5] Bonghi Jovino 2005, 31, and discussed in detail by Schirmer, 1993.

Monte Falterona to the north-east (Zifferero 1995), and Monte Giovi (and hence Fiesole) to the south (Rendeli 1993). These rural sanctuaries thus serve to both define zones of influence and establish places of cultural interaction.

Excavation at Poggio Colla has focused on three areas: the Podere Funghi, an artisan area 750 m NE of the acropolis; the north-west slope where an Orientalizing quarry was discovered; and on the acropolis proper. The latter was certainly a sanctuary, one that in recent years has produced a wealth of information about votive and ritual activity. The early history of this acropolis sanctuary is still elusive. The earliest pottery, found in two heavily carbonized strata on the northern edge of the terrace, is bucchero and buccheroid impasto that can be securely dated at least as early as the middle of the 7th century BCE. The bucchero is found in large quantities and is of the highest quality, much of it decorated, certainly comparable to bucchero found at sites like Fiesole and Artimino. The assemblage includes elite vases like cups with fenestrated winged handles, and although conclusions will have to await proper study, preliminary evidence suggests that the preponderance of vases were drinking vessels. So far there is no certain evidence of architecture as early as this Orientalizing and early Archaic context.

Subsequent to the Orientalizing-Archaic horizon there is evidence of at least three building phases. The earliest architecture[6] (Phase I) consists of a stone temple that is no longer standing but whose elements, three Tuscan column bases and numerous molded podium blocks, were dispersed on the acropolis. The location of this structure is still in question, but the line of massive sandstone blocks underneath the NE corner of the later Phase II–III buildings, might constitute one flank, in which case the temple would have had a N/S orientation. Many of the elements of the temple were reused in later contexts that intimate destruction or post-destruction rituals; the sacred nature of the columns and podium blocks seemingly continued even after their architectonic function came to an end.

After the destruction of the early temple the acropolis was reordered on a massive scale, resulting in a large courtyard (22 by 10.5 m) surrounding an altar (*c.* 1.5 by 1.5 m).[7] There was also at this point a significant change in orientation. While the Phase I structure had been

[6] For a recent plan: Warden *et al.* 2005, 252, fig. 1.
[7] The phase II plan is published by Warden *et al.* 2005, 254, fig. 2.

oriented roughly north-south, the Phase II courtyard is aligned to the natural rectangular terrace of the arx.[8] A third phase of construction followed along similar lines. The Phase III building was also a large rectangular courtyard, but with foundations of stone rubble rather than ashlars. The courtyard is similar to its Phase II predecessor but deviates slightly: to the south and east the rectangle was expanded approximately one meter, and now there is clear evidence of rooms on at least three sides, to the west and south, and perhaps to the east as well. Numismatic evidence dates the Phase III structure to the 3rd century,[9] and based on ceramic, historical, and numismatic evidence, we have posited that it was most likely destroyed by the Romans *c.* 188/187 BCE.

There is clear evidence (altar and votive deposits) that the site's religious nature continued through the second phase, but a crucial question is whether Poggio Colla continued to function as a sanctuary through the third phase. It also might be salutary to ask the question about how Etruscan the site of Poggio Colla would have been in the 3rd century BCE when this part of Etruria had been overrun by Gauls and when sites to the north, such as Monte Bibele, show clear evidence of Gallic incursion. Even if still a sanctuary, the Phase III courtyard complex and newly fortified *arx* housed granaries and possibly hosted textile and ceramic production (Warden *et al.* 2005, 255).

Part of the rich evidence for votive religion at Poggio Colla has already been discussed in excavation reports and the extensive contexts will have to await a full monographic publication.[10] There are nine contexts that could be included under the rubric of either votive or ritual activity at the site (Table 1), and the most important and unequivocal of these is number 4. It was excavated recently, in 2005 and 2006, and thus has not been included in previous publications, but it was this deposit that made clear the religious nature of the acropolis. Context 4 consists of a circular pit excavated in a room at the north-west corner of the Phase II and III buildings, in an area where recent excavation

[8] What is unclear at this point is exactly what motivated the changes described above. The change in orientation of the building between the first and second phases finds parallel in the acropolis at Satricum, where the temple's orientation changed. See Maaskant-Kleibrink *et al.* 1992, 10–11. See also Prayon 1991, 1285–1295.

[9] Warden *et al.* 2005, 265. For one of these coins and chronological issues, see also Thomas 2000, 113–18.

[10] See Warden and Kane 1997; Warden and Thomas 1999; Warden, Thomas and Galloway 1999; Warden and Thomas 2000; Thomas 2001; Warden *et al.* 2005; Warden and Thomas 2007; Forthcoming.

has produced several walls of what may be a Phase I structure. In the center of the pit was placed a large sandstone cylinder, *c.* 70 m in diameter, with a boss or tenon on one of its faces (Fig. 12). This stone element is most likely the top of a votive column or small circular altar, and the tenon on the underside of the cylinder would have held the element in place, perhaps on a wooden column shaft. Thus, the column or altar was dismantled, and the element was carefully placed in the center of the pit and upside-down.[11]

To the north of the sandstone cylinder, carefully placed at right angles to one another and roughly oriented to the axes of the plateau, were two sandstone statue bases.[12] The smaller is pentagonal, just under 13 cm high, and has a hole at the top for the insertion of a bronze figurine; it was oriented north-south.[13] The larger base, an imposing 33.5 cm high, is pyramidal and is also holed at the top;[14] the hole still has the lead fitting that would have held in place a bronze figure of significant size. One face bears an orthograde inscription that gives the name of an Etruscan male, a member of the elite, given that both the nomen and cognomen are indicated. The inscription is probably Archaic.[15] Two bronze fragments were placed on the southern side of the cylinder. Also found was the handle of a vessel, seemingly purposely broken, as along with several strands of intertwined gold wire, which also appears in several other ritual contexts elsewhere at the site.

Especially dramatic is further evidence excavated in 2006. To the west of the cylinder was a small bronze bowl, not yet fully restored, that was possibly used to pour a libation at the time that all these elements were interred. The careful placement of all these objects allows us to reconstruct the following sequence of events. The column or altar was dismantled and its heavy cylindrical top carefully placed upside-down in the pit. The statue bases, which might originally have been displayed on the column/altar, were tucked neatly to the north, while the gold wire and bronze were placed to the south. A magistrate/priest, most likely

[11] The ritual of placing elements of the Phase I temple (one of the column bases and many of the molded podium blocks) is well attested elsewhere at our site; the Phase I stones are either set up again, thus reused, or flipped upside-down and buried.

[12] Illustrated by Fedeli and Warden 2006, 336, fig. 4.

[13] Inv. no. PC05–122. Height 12.75 cm Width 9.9 cm.

[14] Inv. no. PC05–166. Height 33.5 cm Width 17 cm.

[15] This inscription will be studied and published by Giovannangelo Camporeale in *Studi Etruschi*. I am especially grateful to Prof. Camporeale for his preliminary reading of the inscription.

standing to the west and facing east, poured a libation and placed the cup at his feet, on the west side of the pit. While we can reconstruct the ritual, we do not know why this ceremony took place. Was it part of the normal ritual at Poggio Colla, the internment of sacred objects of an earlier age, or did it result from a violent destruction and looting? As well as the careful axial arrangement of the objects, aligned with the edges of the acropolis terrace, the seemingly fastidious handling of an elite dedication is reminiscent of Etruscan ritual practice, where in some cases the care and handling of the sacred was entrusted to, and the prerogative of, specific Etruscan elites. The most famous instance, recounted by Livy (V, 22, 3–8), is the statue of Juno at Veii, which was handled by the Romans "with religious awe because according to Etruscan custom, no one was allowed to touch it except a priest from a certain family".

Many of the ritual acts attested in Context 4 are also attested in Contexts 1 and 3. Context 3, probably a foundation deposit of the Phase II structure, was a pit directly east of the west wall of the Phase II courtyard. The pit was covered over with stone and tile and contained a bronze pitcher, a so-called *Schnabelkanne*,[16] and heavy bronze ring. The pitcher was carefully placed on its side, again almost certainly after a libation, and is again oriented north-south, parallel to the west wall of the courtyard. *Schnabelkannen* are usually found in tombs, but their ritual significance is made clear on the famous Chalchas mirror from Vulci, now in the Vatican, where a pitcher of this type is placed at the feet of the seer as he scrutinizes the entrails at the altar.[17] The significance of the ring is rather more ambiguous.

The whole western end of the Phase II courtyard is connected to ritual and votive religion. In center of the long, east-west axis of the courtyard and exactly one third of the distance from the west wall was a stone altar. Between the west wall of the courtyard and this altar is a large fissure that leads to an underground chamber or *favissa*[18] that runs underneath the west walls of the courtyard. The fissure, in grids E7 and F7–8, which leads to this *favissa* is clearly natural and as yet

[16] Type VI. Krauskopf 1981. I am grateful to Mario Iozzo for providing me with bibliography on the Type VI *Schnabelkanne*. For Schnabelkannen in general, Bouloumié 1974.

[17] As has been pointed out by de Grummond 2006, 42 (33, fig. III.8 for the mirror).

[18] Latin terms like *favissa* and *stips* will be used in this article, although Turfa's (2006, 91) cautionary note is well taken.

unexcavated. After the Phase I temple was destroyed or dismantled, this fissure was capped by a large molded block of sandstone, part of the Phase I structure (Fig. 13). The block was again neatly placed upside down, next to the fissure, and next to it were deposited a fine gold ring and long strands of gold wire. Once again, the combination of an upside-down architectural element, a ring, and gold wire document another ritual setting. This context, connected with a natural feature (the bedrock) would certainly suggest a chthonic cult, perhaps related to a female divinity. This kind of veneration of a natural fissure in the bedrock is not uncommon in Etruria and is paralleled most famously at Tarquinia.[19]

The connection to the bedrock, or more properly the ritual 'value' of the bedrock at Poggio Colla, is demonstrated by a votive *stips* (Context 2) deposited to the west and south of the Phase II altar, in trench PC 23, grids F8–F9 (excavated) and grids E8–9 (unexcavated). This deposition covers a large area, part of which is still unexcavated, possibly over ten meters in length. The western edge of the votive deposit was discovered in 2001 as the result of illicit excavation at the site, and subsequent excavation has produced 439 pieces of bronze, fragments of iron, very worn and abraded fragments of tile and coarse-ware ceramics, a loom weight, a black glaze handle, and three fragments of an Attic St. Valentin's skyphos (Warden *et al.* 2005, 262, fig. 14).

The hundreds of bronzes include raw bronze in the form of casting 'runners' and numerous lumps, possibly *aes rude*. There are also numerous fragments of what clearly had been objects: sheets of bronze, some with nails, implements and decorative pieces that formed part of larger pieces. Many of these are deformed and bear traces of burning on their surfaces; some of the pieces seem to have been deliberately cut up. In only one case, an Archaic votive figurine (Fig. 14),[20] do we have an entire object, and in this case the figure is heavily worn and abraded, possibly burned. Some of these pieces are fragments of clearly valuable, elite objects, for instance a splendid archaic lion, an attachment for a bronze tripod or large vessel (Fig. 15).[21] The assemblage is clearly

[19] See Bonghi Jovino and Chiaramonte Treré 1997, esp. 217–220. Altars placed over underground openings or *bothroi* are not uncommon at Etruscan sanctuaries, for instance in the Portonaccio precinct at Veii (Colonna 1985, 101) or at Punta della Vipera (*Ibid.*, 149).

[20] Inv. PC 05–001. Fedeli and Warden 2006, 336, fig. 3.

[21] Inv. PC 05–074. The piece has an unfinished back that curves gently, probably for attachment to the upper rim of a tripod that would have been decorated with a series of figures.

votive as it includes three votive figurines: the aforementioned Archaic figure, the foot of another votive figure,[22] and a fine bronze head of a male figure discovered in 1995, possibly an Apollo.[23]

The preponderance of bronzes and lack of substantive ceramics or terracotta votives is characteristic of northern Etruria, especially the region from Florence to Bologna (Romualdi 1989–90). But this deposit is not a typical north Etruscan set of figures, of, say, the Monte Guragazza type; it is, rather, a secondary deposit of objects that seem to have been deliberately cut up, fragmented, and possibly burned. One possibility is that they are the remnants of a violent destruction, the leftovers after the sanctuary was looted, neatly tucked away underneath the courtyard of the Phase III complex. The finds, however, range in date from the Archaic to the Hellenistic period. They do include objects that are probably contemporary with the Phase I temple, for instance the male head, standing figurine, and lion. But the assemblage also includes objects, for instance coins, datable to the end of the 3rd and early 2nd centuries BCE, to the very end of the sanctuary's long history. And most important, the deposit includes raw bronze, numerous casting 'runners' (Fig. 16) as well as indiscriminate lumps that would seem to fall into that rather indefinable category of *aes rude*. If this deposit were the result of a destruction, we would expect to find larger parts of objects and fewer pieces of currency and raw bronze. If this impression is borne out in the final analysis, after complete excavation, then Context 2 will provide evidence for the practice of 'fragmentation', a practice whose existence is controversial, as has been pointed out by Glinister (2000, 158, n. 12).

There does not seem to be any depositional stratigraphy within Context 2, but the lowest part of the deposit is placed upon bedrock—here once again we have tantalizing evidence that the bedrock was sacred—into a channel that may have been cut into the bedrock before the objects were deposited. The channel, whether natural or artificial, is startlingly symmetrical and creates an axis aligned north-south, in other words aligned to true north rather than to the sides of the terrace. The alignment is thus consistent with the Phase I orientation, but the *stips* is clearly datable to after Phase I. Either the channel is earlier

[22] Inv. PC 01–002.

[23] Inv. PC 95–01, published in Kane, Warden and Griffiths 1998. This figure was found in the scarp of Trench PC1. The trench was reopened and expanded in 2006 revealing the southwestern edge of the *stips*.

than the *stips*, or else there was another reason to preserve an earlier axiality. One possibility is that if the line of the channel is extended to the north it leads to the fissure and Context 1. These two deposits, both associated with the bedrock and hence with a chthonic cult, might thus be related.

It is premature to speculate too much about this deposit—it will need full excavation and exhaustive publication. The prevalence of bronze is north Etruscan, and the inclusion of much raw bronze, runners and possibly *aes rude*, is paralleled at the nearby sanctuary of Monte Falterona,[24] where figurines and weapons were intermingled with masses of raw bronze and coins. The quality of the head found at Poggio Colla in 1995 is comparable to anything found there or at other northern sanctuaries. The treatment of the pieces, their fragmentation and burning, is especially interesting in light of the nearby altar and the hearth or fire pit immediately to the north. The possibility exists that whole objects/dedications were ritually broken and burned, with only parts of these objects interred. Are the other parts buried elsewhere on the site, or was part of the metal reused?

The exact date of Context 2 remains uncertain and does not help in the interpretation of the deposit's meaning. It certainly postdates Phase I. Its position suggests an association with the Phase II altar, but it is difficult to be more precise than that, especially since both Phases II and III seem to be fairly late (3rd–2nd centuries BCE). The latest material in the stips is probably too late for the deposit to mark the end of Phase I, as does the 'fissure' deposit (Context 1), or to signal the foundation of Phase II, as does the *Schnabelkanne* deposit (Context 3). The best guess at this point is that the deposit is possibly connected to the end of Phase II and beginning of Phase III, perhaps marking an end, a kind of ritual sealing of the Phase II sanctuary. Of special significance in this regard is the placement of the coins which are found at the top of the votive stips, somewhat removed from the other bronzes. Again, conclusions will have to await full excavation, but at this point it looks as if the coins were scattered around the earth at the top of the votive *stips*. Their position seems indicative of a specific ritual action, but one that is better known from northern Europe than from classical contexts. The high number of coins from Poggio Colla must certainly indicate not accidental loss but selective deposition, and

[24] Fortuna and Giovannoni 1989, with previous bibliography.

while the nature of coin deposition in Italic sanctuaries has not been well studied, the topic has received a great deal of attention lately in northern Europe in the context of Iron Age settlements and sanctuaries. While practice seems to vary from region to region, there is evidence for instance for "the deposition of single (of small hoards of) gold coins in special places in the landscape" (Wellington 2004, 242). Interestingly, structured deposition of coins is found in settlements as well as sacred places (Wellington 2004, 243), and coin deposition can be associated with architectural features such as foundation trenches, enclosure ditches, *etc*. (Curteis 2004, 218). In sanctuaries, coin deposition becomes a ritual act, possibly a way of sealing and consecrating sacred spaces (Haselgrove 2005; Haselgrove and Wigg-Wolf 2005). The methodological issues raised by coin deposition analysis in Iron Age Europe apply to Poggio Colla. The way that coins may have been placed or scattered around the top of Context 2 as well as elsewhere on the site raises questions about ritual, about ethnic identity, and about the nature of other deposits at Poggio Colla and other northern Etruscan sites in the late Etruscan period, a time of social turmoil and ethnic mixing. We might also begin to suspect that the deposits of gold jewelry (Context 6) and silver coins (Context 8) that will be studied elsewhere[25] are not hoards but dedicatory in nature.

The discovery of this series of votive deposits has led us to reevaluate some previously excavated contexts and to examine such ambiguous events as the dismantlement/destruction of the Phase I temple. We may never know why the Phase I temple was destroyed, whether its destruction was accidental or deliberate, but what we can now demonstrate is that a series of ritual actions ensued after this event. Nothing of Phase I save the foundation walls seems to have been left *in situ*. Podium blocks and architectural elements were reused in later foundations, almost always deliberately turned upside down. An illuminating example of this kind of reuse is a series of podium blocks placed at the bottom of the north terracing wall in Trench PC 20 (Fig. 17). These blocks are placed directly in front of a series of small upright stone slabs that seem to have marked a boundary, possibly the northern boundary of the sanctuary in an early phase. The sanctity of the delineated boundary is reinforced by the ritual act of the placement of elements

[25] The gold jewelry will be published by Alexis Q. Castor, the hoard of Roman *victoriati* will be published by Michael Thomas.

of the destroyed temple. The entire sanctuary seems to be a dialogue of ritual acts that reinforce the rational order of the sacred space,[26] as in the placement of statue bases and other elements in Context 4, or, in other instances, ritual actions that impose human order on irrational spaces, such as the placement of a podium block upside down in front of the fissure (Context 1), or the carving of channels in the bedrock for Context 2. The depositional pattern is interesting. Most of the ritual deposits are at the western end of the courtyard, but more precisely they are to the west of a hypothetical north-south axis, true north-south rather than plan north-south, that intersects the Phase II altar, suggesting that the sacred area may have been divided into zones, based on a cardinal axis that defines the Phase I planning (and that is reiterated by the channel of Context 2) but that might also have continued into subsequent phases despite the reorientation of the architectural layout along different lines.

Two other contexts are worthy of note, although they will be published fully elsewhere. One is a mound of stones (Context 9) at the east end of the Phase III courtyard; some of these stones are clearly architectural elements. When first discovered this mound was thought to be the result of earlier excavation at the site, but careful excavation (one half of the mound was excavated) revealed that it belongs stratigraphically to the very end of the site, perhaps part of post-destruction ritual.[27] More ambiguous is the series of five podium blocks and Tuscan column base excavated in 1998–2000 in Trench PC 6, northeast of the Phase III courtyard structure (Warden, Thomas and Galloway 1999, 237, fig. 5). These, along with a Phase III rubble wall to the west seem to have made up the foundations for a small room or platform whose function and placement—far to the east of the other structures—has perplexed us. In the center of the platforms was a large circular pit filled with ash, and now, in the context of the other ritual reuse of Phase I temple elements at the site, it seems plausible to hypothesize that this area served as an altar.

There are other questions of dismantlement and deposition, of burial and reuse. Where for instance are the terracottas? One late Archaic antefix was found in 1992 (Warden, Thomas and Galloway 1999, 240,

[26] I would argue that these acts could also be a kind of social dialogue that would reinforce the hierarchies of the Etruscan social landscape in the way, as has been suggested by Izzet 2000, that the fictile decorative elements of a temple work to create spatial hierarchies that define both the spatial and the religious order.

[27] For mounds in this context: Edlund Berry 1994, 16.

no. 36), previous to our excavations, in three pieces in the foundation of the north terracing wall. Was it tossed in there by mistake, or was it purposely placed there, as was a massive Tuscan column base that was flipped upside down nearby, in the same foundation. And where are the other antefixes? Are they buried nearby? All this is somewhat reminiscent of destruction rituals documented in the late 6th century BCE at Murlo (Edlund-Berry 1994), but with a difference, for Poggio Colla is clearly a sanctuary that continued to function well after the destruction of the Phase I temple, so that many of the contexts are more concerned with reuse and renewal rather than to obliteration. A more proximate example is the burial of terracotta statues at the Portonaccio temple in Veii, clearly a ritual act as has been suggested by Bonghi Jovino,[28] but one that does not necessarily mark the termination of the place, merely the removal and burial (and possible propitiation?) of items sacred to the place. In this sense the ritual burial of parts of the Phase I temple marks a transition rather than an end, although interestingly the stones of the temple are treated as sacred, much like the fictile revetments more commonly found in ritual deposits. We cannot be certain how much more of the temple lies interred in the extensive footings of the Phase II and III courtyard buildings at Poggio Colla. As it is, the acropolis sanctuary of Poggio Colla is beginning to reveal itself through a series of archaeological contexts that document dramatically the richness and complexity of Etruscan ritual practice.

Table 1. Possible Ritual Contexts at Poggio Colla

Number	Context description
1	Fissure, block, and gold
2	Bronzes, coins, *aes rude*
3	*Schnabelkanne* and bronze rings
4	Statue bases, altar element, bronzes, and gold
5	Feature PC6. Altar?
6	Jewelry deposit.
7	Podium blocks in PC20 (and *pomerium* markers?)
8	Hoard of 100 Roman silver "*Victoriati*"
9	Stone mound at east end of the courtyard

[28] Bonghi Jovino 2005, 43, connected by her to the 're-structuring' of the Portonaccio sanctuary, thus analogous to the changes that take place at Poggio Colla at the end of Phase I. See also Glinister 2000, 59.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE CIMA TUMULUS AT SAN GIULIANO—AN ARISTOCRATIC TOMB AND MONUMENT FOR THE CULT OF THE ANCESTORS OF THE LATE ORIENTALIZING PERIOD[1]

Stephan Steingräber

San Giuliano is one of the most interesting and fascinating archaeological sites of the South Etruscan rock tomb area.[2] The ancient Etruscan name of this small inland center is not known but could be related perhaps to 'Martureie'. As we can deduce mainly from the necropoleis, tombs (mostly rock tombs) and burial gifts, San Giuliano had its most flourishing period between the later 7th century and the early 5th century BCE and a second, much later, prosperity in the Early Hellenistic period. Unfortunately San Giuliano remains a less studied and published Etruscan site of the South Etruscan rock tomb area. It is located about 3 km from the small picturesque medieval town of Barbarano Romano and since 1984 has been surrounded by the 'Parco archeologico-naturalistico Marturanum'.

The so-called Cuccumella on the plateau of Caiolo and the Cima Tumulus on the northern edge of the Chiusa Cima plateau stand out among the tumuli of the necropoleis of San Giuliano. Chronologically both tumuli go back to the later Orientalizing period but structurally they are completely different. The tomb of the Cuccumella is built in tufa blocks (a technique generally much more common in Northern Etruria), whereas the base/tambur and the chamber tombs of the Cima Tumulus are completely cut out from the local tufa rock (as was especially common in the necropoleis of Caere).

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[1] May the recipient of this Festschrift accept this modest little *alpnu* from an old 'Etruscanized' German friend living now in the rock tomb area and return still many times to the land of our spiritual ancestors. Evviva!

[2] This area, at least in the Orientalizing and Archaic period, belonged to the hinterland of the powerful coastal metropolis of Caere and is now part of the province of Viterbo.

The first excavations of the Cima Tumulus were undertaken by Gino Rosi in 1921 (Rosi 1925). In 1931 Augusto Gargana published his monograph on San Giuliano, which remains until today the basic publication and includes the Cima Tumulus too. Between 1962 and 1975 further excavations and cleaning operations took place that resulted mainly in the uncovering of the smaller later tombs and of a cippus-monument. Towards the end of the 1970's the main tomb—partly collapsed—was restored. During the last two decades Giovanni and Elena Colonna (1978; 1986), Friedhelm Prayon (1975; 2006), Renzo Romanelli (1986), Alessandro Naso (1996), Paolo Brocato[3] and the author of this article (1991; 1996; 1997) dealt with this important sepulchral complex. After the restoration in 1982 the author, together with the late photographer of the DAI in Rome, Helmut Schwanke, organized a photo campaign. The Cima Tumulus of San Giuliano has not been completely and thoroughly published to this day.

The Cima Tumulus is situated on the plateau of Chiusa Cima and contains an older monumental chamber tomb orientated towards NNW and six more recent smaller chamber tombs located in the eastern (five tombs) and in the northwestern sector (one tomb) of the tumulus (Fig. 18). Both the base (krepis) of the tumulus as well as the chamber tombs are almost completely cut out from the local reddish tufa rock and contain only very few built structures. This is in remarkable contrast to the other monumental aristocratic tumuli of the Orientalizing period at San Giuliano such as the so-called Cuccumella on the plateau of Caiolo with its dromos and two tomb chambers built in tufa blocks and covered by corbeled vaults (Fig. 19), as was common in Northern Etruria (*i.e.* at Cortona, Castellina in Chianti and Artimino as well as at Orvieto). The Tumulo Cima is about 35 m in diameter and is characterized by a cylindrical krepis with moulds (strip and torus) preserved only in a few parts (Fig. 20). There are no remains of a possible original ramp or of other added structures. The main tomb, the Tomba Cima (Figs. 21, 22), belongs to the so-called tomb type B 2 that is native in Caere according to the typology of Prayon (1975). It contains seven chambers and an open trapeziform dromos (length 12.5 m) with four arched doors (Fig. 23), which has tufa blocks only in the upper part.

[3] In his unpublished doctoral thesis in Etruscology at the University of Roma La Sapienza.

Of special interest is the left dromos chamber (4.7 × 2.8 m) that was clearly destined for the cult of the dead (Fig. 24). Even in more recent times it was used occasionally for 'cult ceremonies' (libations and recitations in Etruscan language) by local modern 'Etruscans' and special guests from the New World too. This chamber is divided in three different sections by two pairs of fluted wall pillars. The frontal area is covered by a fan vaulting with a central 'disc', the middle one by a saddle roof with columen and crossbeams and the rear one by an almost flat simple ceiling. Remains of red color are especially well preserved on the beams and on the wall pillars. In the center on the floor there is a rectangular base (1.2 × 0.8 m), which was probably an altar that was originally built in stone blocks or consisted of some ephemeral material (Fig. 24). We can find architectural and typological parallels for such a characteristic funeral cult chamber especially in Caere (Tomba Campana 1) and Vulci (Tomba del Sol e della Luna) (Prayon 1975).

The antichamber/vestibulum of Tomba Cima measures 2.5 × 3.6 m and has an arched entrance door and three rectangular *portae doricae* inside. Its coffered ceiling (Fig. 25) is still well preserved and characterized by *lacunaria* or an imitation of intersecting beams, crossbeams and reed (*incannucciata*). One can still recognize the remains of painting in red, black and yellow, especially on the beams and door borders, showing vegetal motifs such as palmettes of Phoenician type and volutes (Fig. 26), as was demonstrated by A. Naso (1996). Two small chambers with slightly vaulted ceilings connect the antechamber with the left and right dromos chambers respectively. This special feature is reminiscent of the Tomba delle Cinque Sedie at Caere where the small chambers however connect the dromos chambers directly with the main tomb chamber (Prayon 1975; 2006).

The main tomb chamber of the Tomba Cima with a trapeziform ground plan (6.3 × 4.3–3 m) is characterized by four pillars, a coffered ceiling, and a flat bench zone along the walls (Fig. 27). On the left side of this tomb chamber there is a very large funeral bed built in stone slabs with round leg forms (according to the typology of the author we are dealing with here the bed/kline type 1b: Steingräber 1979, 8–9). Because of the partial collapse of the ceiling, some parts of the pillars and the ceiling have been restored in modern concrete. Several remains of red color are still recognizable. The rear wall was once decorated with two heraldic predators (possibly panthers) and perhaps with a palmette on a surface measuring 1.35 × 1.30 m as it is shown

by the reconstruction drawing of A. Naso (Fig. 28). Concerning these motifs we find comparable examples in the Tomba delle Pantere at Tarquinia (chronologically a bit later), in a painted tomb discovered in 1984 in Loc. Cancellara near Magliano in Toscana, and on impasto vases painted white on red and on terracotta house-shaped urns from Caere (Steingräber 2006, 60–61).

The two dromos chambers on the right side are largely restored and have a saddle roof with columen. The six smaller and later one-chamber tombs cut out from the tufa rock go back to the archaic period (*i.e.* 6th century BCE). They are characterized by a saddle roof with columen in relief, a funeral bed on both sides and a bench in front of the rear wall. Some round cavities cut out in the stone beds were probably used for later cremation burials.

As in most cases, the tombs of the Cima Tumulus were largely plundered before they were discovered by archaeologists, but some fragmentary remains of burial gifts from the earlier (Orientalizing) and the later (Archaic) period were still found: fragments of bucchero cups (*calice*) and an impasto lion protome (probably belonging to a dinos). Other fragments of terracotta and metal were found more recently such as Protocorinthian, Italo-Geometric, Attic black figure and red figure ceramics, bucchero, impasto vases (partly painted white on red, among them a pithos with a frieze of walking winged griffins), fragments of a tufa lion sculpture, fibulae as well as black glaze and Faliscan ceramics. These materials have not yet been published.

On the basis of these burial gifts, as well as the architectural typology, the Tumulus and the Tomba Cima can be dated to some point between the third and the fourth quarter of the 7th century BCE. The six later and much simpler one-chamber tombs of the 6th century demonstrate that the tumulus was used for a longer duration. Because of the lack of inscriptions we do not know the name of the aristocratic family that owned the Cima Tumulus. Strong influences from Caere manifest themselves in this period not only architecturally and artistically (one could quote the aristocratic orientalizing Caeretan tombs such as the Tomba degli Animali Dipinti) but also politically and economically in the South Etruscan rock tomb area.

The cippus-monument east of the tumulus on the other hand is of special interest and is unique in Etruria (Fig. 29). This monument was rightly called by Colonna (1986, 420) an "area cultuale all'aperto", that is, an open cultic/ritual area (Steingräber 1991; 1996; 1997). It belongs to the group of Etruscan monumental cippi, particularly of pillar

and obelisk shape (type 6: Steingräber 1991), which are documented especially in San Giuliano, Vulci, Castro, Chiusi and in the Viterbo areas. Already because of their size they clearly stand out among the great amount of Etruscan cippi, which still have to be collected in a corpus and studied more thoroughly. A very striking example of this type is the rather well preserved obelisk-shaped tufa cippus from San Giuliano that for a long time was erected in the entrance hall of the town hall at Barbarano Romano before it finally was moved after a restoration into the small local Archaeological Museum together with other stone monuments such as sarcophagi and animal sculptures (Fig. 30). Fortunately, we know it was originally found in the Loc. Chiusa Cima in 1963. This cippus, about 4 m high, is characterized by a square projecting base with moulding that is cut out from the same tufa block as the lower part of the 'obelisk'. The base measures 1.15 × 1.00 m at the bottom, 0.66 × 0.55 m in middle part, 0.43 × 0.35 m in upper part and 0.40 m in height. The cippus is narrowing toward the pointed top. The upper blocks were fit together in modern times.

Most probably the cippus was erected on the facade of a cube rock tomb (*tomba a dado finto*), the so-called Tomba dell'Obelisco which, together with other cube rock tombs, surrounded a large artificially created square on two sides. This funeral square was systematically excavated and cleaned by the Soprintendenza in March 1990. The exterior and interior architecture of these tombs as well as the modest finds of bucchero fragments suggest a date in the later 6th century BCE (Steingräber 1992). Therefore the cippus should date from the same period. Perhaps some of the other late archaic cube rock tombs around this square were originally topped by such obelisk-shaped cippi too, as could be indicated by some tufa pedestals with square depressions that perhaps functioned as cippus-bases. Even more comparable with the base of the cippus in the Museum of Barbarano Romano is a series of flat, square tufa bases with depressions in the courtyard of the Museo Civico at Viterbo, which possibly belonged to obelisk-shaped cippi. The connection with large obelisk-shaped cippi of three square depressions in the tufa ground of the Caiolo plateau at San Giuliano situated just over the canyon-like valley of Caiolo and between two chamber tombs with tumuli is more problematic (Steingräber 1991; 1996).

More impressive are the remains of the monumental obelisk-shaped cippi east of the Cima Tumulus (Figs. 29, 31). On a rectangular base, which is oriented approximately east-west (length 9.20 m [south side], 8.95 m [north side]; width 3.30 m [east side], 3.55 m [west side]) one can

easily recognize two rows of nine (on the northern side) and respectively eight (on the southern side) badly weathered, square stumps on which we have to imagine, most probably, obelisk-shaped cippi built in blocks just as the cippus in the museum of Barbarano. The southern row is interrupted in the center by a circular depression. Immediately south of the monument is situated a small tufa quarry of a more recent period. There is no doubt that the base with the seventeen cippi was connected with the neighboring Cima Tumulus. Perhaps even it was cut out from the tufa rock together with the tumulus in the same period.

Concerning the site and orientation, the cippus-base cannot be related directly to any of the tombs of the tumulus. Presuming an origin in the same period (*i.e.* the later Orientalizing period) as in the case of the main tomb, one could ask why the cippi were not erected north of the tumulus immediately in front of the Tomba Cima. The answer is simple: there is not enough space, as the plateau of Chiusa Cima falls off sharply close to the tumulus. Such problems did not exist on the other sides around the tumulus.

Given such an early date for the cippus-monument, one could object the obviously later date of the typologically similar 'obelisk' in the museum of Barbarano Romano (the second half of the 6th century BCE). Additionally there is the general fact that the phenomenon of Etruscan funeral cippi reached its first real climax only in the Archaic period. Undoubtedly this monument was used by the owners of the Cima Tumulus—an aristocratic *gens* whose name unfortunately we do not know—for the cult of the dead and the ancestors as a kind of "area cultuale all'aperto" (Colonna 1986, 420). Even though monumental obelisk-shaped cippi are also documented or presumed in other sites of the necropoleis at San Giuliano, the great number and accumulation of cippi in the case of our monument represent a really unique case for which we do not know any other comparable example. Apparently the base with the cippi was not only a memorial monument but had a practical function for the cult of the dead as well: this is suggested by the circular depression between the cippi of the southern row on which we can suppose perhaps a round altar. The fact that ritual acts such as sacrifices and libations occured in the immediate neighborhood of the erected cippi is proven by the roof platforms with moulds of the cube rock tombs at Norchia and Castel d'Asso (dated mostly from the late 4th and the 3rd centuries BCE), which can be classified both formally and functionally as a kind of altar. Thus we find rows of cippi (even though they are less monumental) on the roof platforms

of the Tomba Smurinas at Norchia and already in the Archaic period on the saddle roof of the house-shaped rock tomb of Pian di Mola at Tuscania (Steingräber 1996).

Particularly interesting in this context are the representations on Hellenistic urn reliefs from Volterra—mostly of mythological or funeral character—on which obelisk-shaped 'cippi' (normally two or three) are erected on moulded altar-like pedestals. In these cases we are probably dealing not with altars but with funeral monuments characterized by monumental cippi. Admittedly in reality no Etruscan monuments of this kind are documented. Typologically rather close are cube rock tombs with moulded roof platforms topped by cippi. Furthermore one should mention the legendary colossal tomb monument of Porsenna at Clusium described by Varro in Pliny (*NH* 36 19.91–93) that has not yet been located definitively. This tomb was topped by five pyramid-shaped elements, whereas the so-called Tomb of the Horatii and Curiatii of the Late Republican period at Albano Romano was characterized by five frustum-shaped tops of circular cross-section. This type of funeral monument should be primarily of Etruscan origin (Steingräber 1996).

As is well known, the obelisk form—particularly popular among monumental cippi in the San Giuliano area—has its origins in ancient Egypt. There we find obelisks, some grouped in pairs at the entrance of tombs or on the top of hills, but the majority were used as cult objects in front of temples and particularly as sun symbols in the area of temples dedicated to the sun. Beginning in the period of the emperor Augustus, many Egyptian obelisks were carried off to Rome where they could be reused for sepulchral purposes as well. Thus pairs of obelisks were erected in front of the Mausoleum of Augustus and the cenotaph of Antinous (Steingräber 1996, 96). Roncalli dated a sandstone obelisk (height 2.52 m, on a modern base) with relief decoration in the courtyard of San Francesco at Città della Pieve in Umbria to the 5th century BCE (Roncalli 1988). Most probably this obelisk—typologically rather close to the San Giuliano cippi—has to be interpreted not as a funeral *sema* but as a religious monument for the sun cult. Formally very similar are the small obelisks or *piramidetti* with moulded bases and inscriptions from San Mauro Forte near Metaponto (now in the Archaeological Museum of Naples), which originally however belonged to a sanctuary and not to a necropolis. Thus it seems that the 'obelisk' in pre-Roman Italy could have a symbolic significance both in the sacred and in the sepulchral sphere. The use of obelisks by the Romans thus should be

rooted partly in Etrusco-Italic traditions and partly in Egyptian traditions (Steingräber 1996; 1997).

Additionally, Etruscan cippi that had a circular cross-section could reach sometimes monumental size as is proved by an example from Vulci[4] and by another one from a tomb dromos at Castro. Some examples—now lost—from Chiusi (height *c.* 6.5 m, diameter 2.64 m) and Volterra (height *c.* 4 m) were still more monumental, built in stone blocks as a kind of 'tholoi' and were hollow inside. One of the examples from Volterra was erected over a tomb with alabaster urns dating from the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE and therefore can be considered as a cippus. The example from Chiusi seems to be older in chronology. Formally and probably also functionally comparable is the so-called Colonna Pizzuta of Eloro in Southeast Sicily—a still more colossal towerlike 'cippus' narrowing toward the top (height *c.* 10 m), which was erected over a hypogeum in a sepulchral area of the 3rd century BCE. The great tumulus of Cuccumella at Vulci must also have been topped by sepulchral 'towers', whose function, date and significance are controversially disputed (Steingräber 1991). Column- and tower-like sepulchral monuments—partly cut out—are documented also in the Eastern Mediterranean such as in Sardis (Lydia), Marathus (Syria) and Lindos (Rhodos). Such elementary basic types as the sepulchral 'column' and 'tower' can have been created independently from each other of course. Thus we also have to presume a local indigenous tradition in Etruria, which goes back to the Orientalizing and Archaic periods.

Generally the funeral cippus is interpreted by most scholars as a commemorative sign of the deceased for the bereaved family or as a symbolic 'seat of the soul' of the dead. These interpretations should be valid also for the great majority of Etruscan monumental cippi. Aniconic stone columns and pillars could be admittedly worshipped as *baityloi* ('holy stones') too, that is as seats of the souls or gods. This custom has roots in the megalithic cultures, especially in the Near East. In the sepulchral sphere they have to be considered as seat of the underworld gods or ancestors. In Greek sanctuaries sometimes the gods could be worshipped in the form of *argoi lithoi* and *tetragonoi lithoi* as it is shown by the many unhewn 'cippi' of the 7th century BCE in the Apollo sanctuary of Metaponto (Steingräber 1991).

[4] This cippus is now in the courtyard of the Castello/Archaeological Museum at Vulci; it is about 4 m high, built in several tufa drums and narrows towards the top.

As we already explained the cippus-monument beside the Cima Tumulus at San Giuliano is comparable formally and probably also functionally with the roof platforms topped by cippi of the later cube rock tombs—especially with those at Norchia. While there obviously exists an immediate relation between the single cippi and the burials in the chamber tomb (cut out deeply under the facade), the case of the cippus-monument at San Giuliano—clearly separated from the tumulus and worked as a unified whole (perhaps in the period of the origin of the tumulus)—is different. This monument most probably should be interpreted as a large, aniconic and symbolic seat of the ancestors of the aristocratic owner family of the Cima Tumulus to whose honor and memory regular rituals and sacrifices were organized on particular days of the year. Thus the Cima Tumulus had originally three cult areas: a) the left dromos chamber of the Tomba Cima with the base of an altar, b) the cippus-monument east of the tumulus and c) most probably a cultic place on the top of the tumulus. These three areas—clearly distinguished spatially and typologically—were certainly destined for different kinds of rituals whose exact reconstruction and significance remains unknown to us. Both a three-dimensional plastic as well as a virtual reconstruction of the Tumulo Cima with its seven tombs and the neighboring cippi-monument could certainly contribute towards a greater clarity and a deeper understanding of this unique Etruscan sepulchral complex.

Finally we should point out the great importance of the architectural monuments and elements in Etruscan necropoleis and tombs that were used for the cult of the dead and ancestors (Steingräber 1997). In a recent publication by F. Prayon (2006), the manifold aspects of Etruscan cult of the dead and ancestors are discussed and summarized very clearly. Among the stone monuments we have to mention mainly the ramps of tumuli, the tops of tumuli with architectural structures, the upper platforms of the rock tombs, the places and 'theaters' for the cult (Colonna 1993), altars, stepped monuments and thrones (Prayon 1979). Ramps are especially well-documented in the necropoleis of Caere. Still more impressive is the monumental and richly decorated annex—a combination of ramp, terrace and altar—of the Tumulo del Sodo II at Camucia-Cortona, which dates from the second quarter of the 6th century BCE and was excavated and restored during the last fifteen years. Further this colossal tumulus was topped by a small naiskos or aedicula which could be reached on a paved way up and obviously served for rituals too. In the new Archaeological Museum at Cortona

one can admire the reconstruction of this unique sepulchral complex (Fortunelli 2005). Concerning the original arrangements of the tops of tumuli, unfortunately, in most cases, no detailed investigations have been carried out. Particularly instructive is a tumulus cut out from the tufa rock in a very characteristic location of the Terrone necropolis at Blera that goes back to the first half of the 6th century BCE and is topped by a ring-like construction in stone blocks including depressions (perhaps for cippi) (Ricciardi 1987; Steingräber 1996).

Among the altars and 'cult theaters' in Etruscan necropoleis, Grotta Porcina remains the most impressive example. Close to a huge tumulus (diameter almost 30 m), a round altar (almost 2 m high) is located, which is decorated with animal-reliefs. It is approached by a small bridge-like ramp in the hollow of a valley and surrounded by steps on three sides. The tumulus and altar go back to the first third of the 6th century BCE (Steingräber 1982; Colonna 1993). Other open places with steps for the spectators of funeral rituals in front of the tomb entrance are known from Tarquinia (Tumulo dell'Infernaccio of the 7th century BCE) and from Vulci (Cuccumella of the 7th century BCE). In the South Etruscan rock tomb area (San Giuliano, Blera, Norchia, Castel d'Asso), the moulded upper platforms of the cube and halfcube tombs with altar- and cippus-support function could be reached on lateral stairs. The situation is similar in the case of the *logge* or upper floors of the archaic porticus tombs at San Giuliano. In the case of the rock monument in Loc. Fontiloro near Oriolo Romano it is doubtful whether we have to deal with an *auguraculum* (Mirenda 1992; Steingräber 1996).

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CHAPTER EIGHT

STONE SCULPTURE IN THE CONTEXT OF ETRUSCAN TOMBS: A NOTE ON ITS POSITION

Iefke van Kampen

On the basis of a limited number of archaeological funerary contexts in Etruria of the Orientalizing and Archaic age, viz. when we are in the possession of data regarding the *position* of the stone sculpture found, it is possible to analyse the evidence and try to interpret the sculptural decoration and its meaning within the context. We can consider its position inside or outside the tomb, its relationship with and direct or indirect reference to the owner of the tomb and, in some fortunate cases, the relationship between the different pieces of sculpture within one funerary context. This contribution focuses mainly on the archaeological evidence of South Etruria (including Narce) but also will take into consideration that of the Northern Etruria.

We have data with regard to the exact find context for only a small number of Etruscan funerary stone sculptures of the Orientalizing and Archaic age.[1] The first distinction to be made is that between sculptures found *inside* the tomb context, as part of the funerary domain, and *outside* the tomb, visible for those who had to recognize the monument: a distinction which seems fundamental to us, but maybe was not so for the builders and relatives of the deceased of that time.

The main part of the sculptures comes from *outside* the grave context and therefore remained visible. However, not all cases in which sculpture comes from outside of a tomb that had already been violated have been taken into account. Considering Jean Turfa's relationship with

[1] The present study is based on my PhD work, *La scultura in pietra ad altorilievo e a tuttotondo dell'Etruria Meridionale nei periodi orientalizzante e arcaico*, defended in July 2002 at the University of Rome "La Sapienza", which is currently in preparation for publication in *Studi Etruschi*. Considering the elaborated corpus of *c.* 350 pieces of stone sculpture, we have context information only for some 10–20%, and only a still more limited number is useful for the present discussion. In this paper, besides the inventory number (when known), and reference to Alain Hus' monograph of 1961, the reference number of my study is indicated.

the Philadelphia University Museum, it seems appropriate to start our discussion with a piece from Narce, currently in its collection.

Stone sculpture outside the grave

Narce, Benedetti excavations: no. 145

In 1897 the Philadelphia University Museum, thanks to the intervention of Prof. Arthur L. Frothingham,[2] bought a grave context (*Narce 21*) from the excavator Fausto Benedetti.[3] The sphinx head is said to have been found outside the *fossa* tomb.[4] In addition to this head, four vases are preserved, on the basis of which the tomb previously has been dated in the last quarter of the 7th century BCE (Dohan 1933 and Dohan 1942, 77–78).[5] Currently, we may date the assemblage to the beginning of the 6th century BCE.[6]

All focal points related to the building of the grave context (the cardinal points of the circle of the tumulus, the various entrances, and, probably, the top) apparently were subject to special attention as indicated by the presence of sculpture. Some pieces of sculptures come from the entrance of the *dromos* of a tumulus, as in the case of the Tomba della Capanna.

Cerveteri, Tumulo II, Tomba della Capanna: no. 208

The Tomba della Capanna or Tomba della Casa con Tetto Stramineo, excavated by Mengarelli (Mengarelli 1927, 158–159; Ricci 1955, col.

[2] On Frothingham, friend of Wolfgang Helbig, see Barnabei and Delpino 1991, 451, note 12 and 463.

[3] Turfa 2005, 63. For Fausto Benedetti, one of the most aggressive accusers of Felice Barnabei in the Villa Giulia affair, in particular regarding the excavations in the Faliscan area, see Barnabei and Delpino 1991, *passim*.

[4] Philadelphia, University Museum inv. M.S. 721; Narce II Hus; Turfa 2005, 216–217 (no. 228).

[5] A gold necklace and a small black-figure vase are also mentioned by Frothingham, but have never been located and were not in a photograph made in Rome before transportation.

[6] Cf. the presence of a bucchero *anforetta a spirali* inv. M.S. 723 (Beijer type IIc, Beijer 1978, 13), of a red impasto oinochoe of Phoenician-Cypriote type, inv. M.S. 724, more common in bucchero (Rasmussen type 2b, third quarter 7th–first quarter 6th century BCE (Rasmussen 1979, 77–78 and Bietti Sestieri 1992, 325–327, type 95d), and of an oinochoe with depressed shoulder in levigated clay, inv. MS. 722, which has late Protocorinthian and transitional models (AA.VV. 1980, 182; tav. 41: 49). For the actual display, see Turfa 2005 (cover).

349) has been attributed to Prayon type B1 and dated 680–630 BCE or even earlier, around 700 BCE (Prayon 1975, 17; Colonna and von Hase 1984, 29 and 49). By verifying the excavation notebooks it has become clear that the sculpture (now lost), a standing human figure with folded arms, was found in the first section of the *dromos* of the tomb (Colonna and von Hase 1984, note 98).

Similarly, in the Tomba dei Dolii e degli Alari in Cerveteri, the terracotta sphinx was found in the first section of the *dromos* near the basement in the north of Tumulus II, and has been dated around 630 BCE (Mengarelli 1927, 159; Colonna and von Hase 1984, 50). The tomb's classification as Prayon type B2 confirms the chronology of the tomb context in the second half of the 7th century BCE (Prayon 1975, 18).

Similar situation is known in Northern Etruria in the Molinello Tumulus at Asciano, studied by Elisabetta Mangani (1987–1988; 1989–1990), where some sculptures, similar to statue no. 208, have been found in an identical position. Their interpretation as *antenates*, proposed by Mangani, *outside* the grave context seems strange. It is more likely that they functioned as *psychopompoi* or companions of the dead to the underworld in a way similar to that of some other funerary creatures we know in stone sculpture, like the hippocamps.[7] The *xoanon* figures from Chiusi, always found at the entrance of tombs, also have been interpreted as ancestors by Helle Damgaard Andersen (1993, 50–52), while Ingrid Krauskopf (2006, 83, note 97) prefers to see them as tomb guardians or demonic guides, "like the later figures of Vanth and Charun".

Veii, Tomba Campana: nos. 14, 70, 142, 143, 144[8]

It has been demonstrated that the context of grave goods from the Tomba Campana, the discovery of which was announced by Marchese Campana at the beginning of February 1843, was actually a false one, typical for the Romantic age (Delpino 1985). Some doubts had already been expressed when it was understood that three terracotta urns *a bauletto*, presented as part of the grave goods of the Tomba Campana,

[7] For the hippocamps, see Martelli 2005, figs. 10, 16, 17, 22–23; van Kampen (in press).

[8] No. 14: *in situ*, without number, *Veies* 4 Hus; no. 15: *in situ*, without number, *Veies* 5 Hus; no. 142: Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 12395, *Veies* 1 Hus; no. 143: Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 12394, *Veies* 2 Hus; no. 144: Roma, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 12395, *Veies* 3 Hus.

actually came from the Arduini excavations in the S. Bernardino necropolis in Orte (Roncalli 1979), carried out three years before 'the discovery'. The proof that the tomb 'discovered' in 1843 was already known at least in 1825 comes from a drawing of that year by Francesco Caracciolo (Delpino 1991). The tomb has to be ascribed to Prayon type B2,[9] even if some doubts have been expressed with regard to such an early dating for the entrance wall arch (Banti 1970, 41–43). The funerary beds of Steingräber type 5 and 6 do not contradict a chronology at the end of the 7th century BCE (Steingräber 1979, 91–92, 350 no. 783).[10] The wall paintings, which are lost today, date to the period of the construction of the tomb, *i.e.* at the end of the 7th century BCE.[11]

However, the grave goods, even if they are genuine pieces, did not come from the tomb; the *corredo* was entirely 'composed' by Marchese Campana, and, it has to be said, chosen with great ability and care, if we consider the fact that the deceit was discovered only almost one and a half centuries later.

At this point we should consider the sculpture attributed to the Tomba Campana. In the first inventory of pieces, written on February 15th, 1843 (a few days after the discovery), four lions are listed: two "outside the tomb", *i.e.* immediately outside the first funerary room, and two others, "worse preserved", at the entrance of the *dromos*. Inside the first room "two tufa stone heads" were found (Delpino 1985, 189, App. doc. 51). These lions indeed are depicted in the drawings by L. Gregori edited by Canina (Figs. 32–33),[12] even if, in the notes regarding the theft of 1844, four lions are mentioned, two of which were beheaded on that occasion, and a third one thrown upside down. It seems that the heads that were taken off the bodies were put onto them again using tenons (Delpino 1985, 191–192).

At the time when the Moscioni photographs were taken at the end of the nineteenth century, we see however *two* lions, in a different position compared to that indicated by Canina, lengthwise instead of transversally with regard to the *dromos*: they no longer look towards the

[9] Typology to be dated 650–600 BCE in Caere. Cf. Prayon 1975, 61–62 and note 332; plate 87:6.

[10] Cf. photographs in the SAEM archives neg. nos. 71417–71418 and 71436–71440.

[11] However cf. Banti 1970, 41.

[12] The plates depict the outside view of the tomb, the outlay of the sepulchre, from *Etruria Marittima*—with the indication of the position of the bases of the lions at the entrance of the *dromos*, and the lengthwise section.

entrance (Fig. 34). It should be noted however that the photograph was made from a point quite close to the tomb, so that it would have been impossible to focus on the two other lions, which were possibly still present at the first part of the *dromos*. Head no. 142 was put onto the lion on the right side probably for the picture.

Today two headless lions are preserved, placed in front of the entrance to the tomb.[13] The lion on the left side is the same as that in the Moscioni picture, but the other one seems to be different altogether from its counterpart in the photograph. Furthermore, head no. 142, preserved together with the other two heads in the Villa Giulia storerooms, could not be put onto the body which is still *in situ* that still has its neck and the first part of the head. It is possible that, at the moment when the photograph was taken, at least three lions were still preserved, of which two were used for the picture. Some time later, the lion on the right of the entrance took the place of the one depicted by Moscioni. Considering their weight and the difficult access to the tomb, it thus seems most probable that four lions were found together originally with the tomb and that they were part of the original sepulchre: a pair of lions at the entrance of the *dromos* and another pair which indicated the real entrance to the tomb.[14] In fact, their position, as depicted by Gregori, seems too well situated not to reflect the original situation. Therefore, the lions still present (nos. 14 and 15) can be dated to the end of the 7th century BCE.

Concerning the heads, it has been noted that it is strange that they were said to have been found without bodies or busts inside the tomb, a tomb which itself was presumably "found intact".[15] It seems probable that they were carried in from the outside as part of the grave goods. A third head is not mentioned; probably it was found nearby and ended up in the Tomba Campana. As the tomb was the only one in the area that could be locked after the theft, it was used as a kind of depository (Cristofani and Zevi 1965, 8–9; Delpino 1985, 119). In the inventory list of the Villa Giulia Museum of 1904, after the materials were finally

[13] The situation was like this at least in 1941 (Riis 1941, 45 note 1).

[14] The case of the lions which flank the tomb entrance in Miletus (Kleiner 1968, 127; fig. 92).

[15] A strange appendix behind the head no. 144 has to be noted; it is similar to a tenon, refinished and cylindrical in shape (length 6.5 cm, diameter 8 cm). It is not at all similar to the fragments of wings presented as comparison material by Hus (Hus 1961, 309, note 1). On the other hand it was impossible for Hus to see the sculptures himself and, as recently as 1994, Lulof and Kars wrote: "their whereabouts are unknown today" (Lulof and Kars 1994, 53, note 7).

transported to Rome in July 1901, two 'female' heads are listed as no. 12394, and a 'male' head as no. 12395.[16] It is impossible to identify them with the three lion heads depicted by Canina.[17]

Most probably the 'original' pair of heads of the Campana grave goods are nos. 143–144 (Inv. no. 12394, Fig. 36), possibly coming from Vulci, maybe from Orte (cf. Delpino 1985, 135–136 and Hus 1961, 311). Head no. 142, (Fig. 35) similar to another head certainly from Veii (Fig. 37a[18] and reconstruction Fig. 37b) would be the only *veiente*, coming from nearby.[19] This however remains hypothetical.

As already emphasized by Hus,[20] the door of the tomb would have been one of the focal points of attention, being the real passage from the world of the living towards the realm of the dead. We seem to have positive evidence for the presence of sculpture next to the door only in a few cases. However, we have this situation in the case of the Tomba Campana—if we accept the reconstruction of events as described above—and likewise in the case of the Cuccumella Tumulus (tombs A and B, Marcelliani excavations). In the latter context, the entrance of both the first room and that of the *vestibolo a cielo aperto* was decorated by sculptures.[21]

Other points of the circumference of the *krepis* around the tumulus could also be important as the presence of sculpture indicates. Concerning a series of sculptures, we know that they have been found "along the basement" or "near the *krepis*", as in the case of the sphinx of Montetosto and that of the winged lion of the Cuccumelletta Tumulus (no. 66).[22]

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[16] The three heads are listed both in the inventory composed at their arrival at Villa Giulia, and in the inventory list of three years later (Cristofani and Zevi 1965, 8, note 15).

[17] After the Castro discoveries we know of the existence of the wingless sphinx in Etruscan sculpture. The sculptures depicted by Canina however are clearly lions and there is no reason to doubt their existence *in loco*. Only the lions at the entrance of the *dromos* may have had heads damaged so much as to be no longer identifiable. The body of a sphinx, after all, is leonine. Probably they were well enough preserved to make their reconstruction as lions likely and probable.

[18] No. 197, Amsterdam, Allard Pierson Museum, inv. APM 11.877.

[19] It has to be noted that the three heads are not of the same material: the two heads 143–144 are in a better kind of tufa classified as nenfro, while head no. 142 is of a greyish kind of tufa, which is present locally.

[20] Hus 1961, 398–424 discusses the relationship between the sculpture and the tomb.

[21] Sculpture has also been registerd as having been found in the centre of the second room.

[22] The entrance of the *dromos* is to the NW of the tumulus.

Cerveteri, Montetosto Tumulus: no. 180

The Montetosto tumulus lies *c.* 4 km from the ancient town, on the Caere-Pyrgi road. In the second half of the 6th century BCE, a sanctuary rose near the tumulus, after the place had been the witness to the killing of the Phocaean prisioners, captured after the Battle of Alalia in 540 BCE. Mengarelli, during his research in the tumulus of Montetosto found a tufa stone sphinx along the basement (Mengarelli 1927, 171).[23] Actually, as in the other cases mentioned above, we do not know if the sculptures stood on top of the basement ring, as seems more probable, or next to it.

The tomb composed of three rooms may be dated within the Early Orientalizing period.[24] According to Maria Antonietta Rizzo, the room at the right-hand (Tomba III) contained the earliest burial, dated in the period between the end of the 8th and the first quarter of the 7th century BCE. The main room (Tomb II), with a male and a female burial, is dated around 675 BCE (Rizzo 1989, 161). The sculpture decoration may at best be attributed to the re-arrangement of the tumulus carried out in occasion of the funeral of at least one of the two components of the marital couple buried in the main room.

Barbarano Romano, loc. San Giuliano, Valle Cappellana necropolis, Tomb II: nos. 7, 77

Lion no. 7[25] comes from Tomb II Valle Cappellana, also known as Tomba del Trono or Tomba della Sedia because of the chair sculpted in tufa of Caeretan model.[26] It was found *in situ*, outside the tomb along the *krepis*, ninety degrees from the entrance of the *dromos*, at West, "in a vertical cut in the tufa stone, which creates a kind of niche" (Villa D'Amelio 1963, 14). It is not clear if the lion was positioned this way originally and was oriented towards the entrance of the tomb (and

[23] Cerveteri, *Museo Nazionale*, without inv. no.

[24] Colonna and von Hase 1986, 50; Helbig 1969, no. 2583T; Rizzo 1989. Dohrn and Parlasca in Helbig, however, date the tomb in the third quarter of the 7th century BCE.

[25] Barbarano Romano, *Museo Civico, sine inv.*; erroneously identificated with the lion inv. no. 75413. The latter has the description of the lion discussed here, but the day and place of the find are not the same.

[26] The oldest tomb of the same tumulus, Tomb I, was baptised Tomba della Principessa or Tomba Margareta, in honour of the Swedish princess on a visit, also known as Tomba delle Colonne. It is dated at the end of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century BCE, while Tomb II is some decades later (Steingräber 1981, 348).

at the visitors) or if it was positioned transversally with regard to the circumference of the tumulus. Its location at an exact cardinal point of the circle provides evidence for a situation, which probably was more common.[27]

A second lion, no. 77,[28] now lost,[29] which formed the counterpart to the first one, was probably not positioned on top of the tumulus (as Rosi thought), but considering the location of the first lion at the exact cardinal point, at the other side of the tumulus.[30]

Unfortunately, we have very little evidence for the arrangement of pieces of sculptures at the cardinal points, but probably it was quite common and connected to the *disciplina etrusca*, in which a circle, as a projection of the sky, was subdivided into four parts, dedicated to the various gods, with *familiaris* and *hostilis* sides.[31]

Scholars disagree with regard to the architecture and hence the chronology of the tomb, whose grave goods no longer exist. Prayon (1975, 71; plate 87:26) classifies the tomb as D2, dated 575–525 BCE. The tomb is further attributed to the first half of the century on the basis of the sculpture (Prayon 1975, 74, note 409). Colonna has drawn attention to the decoration with three *fasce* of the *testata* of the door gate, typical for tombs of Prayon type C, therefore dating it around 600 BCE (Colonna and Von Hase 1986, 50–51).[32]

Blera, San Giovenale, Casale Vignale necropolis, loc. Poggette, tomb 51: nos. 58, 59

Tomb 51 of the Casale Vignale necropolis in Blera was excavated by the Archaeological Service (SAEM) after a clandestine dig was detected (Ricciardi 1983). The tomb, attributed to Prayon type C2, had already been ransacked more than once, but, on the basis of the architecture and the remains of the grave goods, it has been possible to date its

[27] Cf. the site of the so-called funerary bed of the Melone di Camucia, found "at the end of the *poggio* exactly at the south" (Franchini 1946, 18).

[28] Erroneously attributed to Blera by Hus (1961, 89 (*Bieda* 4)).

[29] According to a local scholar writing after 1981, Paolo Giannini, the lion mentioned by Rosi as "formerly in Vetralla" was when he wrote at the Elementary School (of Vetralla (?)): Paolo Giannini. *Centri Etruschi e romani dell'Etruria meridionale (Carta archeologica della Tuscia)*, Grotte di Castro s.d. Original edition: 1971, 186.

[30] Rosi 1927, 65–66 e nota 1; cf. Gargana-Romanelli 1932, 502, nota 1; Villa D'Amelio 1963, 14.

[31] Cf. Prayon 1975, 87–90, and Pallottino 1956; Prayon 1991.

[32] Tombs of Prayon type C are to be dated in the period 625–550 BCE.

construction to the end of the 7th century BCE, with burials added as late as the first quarter of the 5th century BCE (Ricciardi 1983, 408).

The tumulus has been excavated, together with another nearby tumulus, called respectively Tomb 51 and Tomb 50 (Ricciardi 1991, 35–37). The tumulus of Tomb 51 had a diameter of 21–21.5 m, moulded tufa stone cornices and was surrounded by a wide ditch. Two fragments of the cornice decorated with a *becco di civetta* show us that the tomb has to be included in the group of tombs belonging to the phase between tumulus and *tomba a dado* (Ricciardi 1990, 151; Ricciardi 1991, 36). A construction has been found on top of the tumulus, near the *dromos*, which may be interpreted as a bridge or an altar. Some fragments of pan tiles and cover tiles (found in the ditch of Tomb 50, similar overall with regard to the external structure) and in particular, a fragment of architectural terracotta of a feline protome found in the ditch of the tomb, suggest that this structure had a little temple on top.

The fragments belong to at least two seated lions, found in the ditch along the tumulus, in a point diametrically opposite to the entrance of the *dromos*, of which no. 58 (Fig. 38)[33] has been almost entirely recomposed. These fragments are probably contemporary to the building of the tumulus and can be dated to the end of the 7th–beginning of the 6th century BCE (allowing a certain amount of time between the first burial and the finishing of the external decoration). They were placed outside of the tumulus, maybe on top, as may be deducted from their position in the destruction layer according to the observations in the excavation notes.

Stone architectural elements

Another category of sculpture is that of the architectural elements in stone. Some animal protomes decorated the corners of funerary monuments, as in the case of the necropoleis of Cannicella (Orvieto) and Crocefisso (Castro). At Castro, scholars do not agree regarding the interpretation of the monument, which has been seen either as a monumental altar for religious ceremonies (Colonna 1967; Colonna 1977, 204 and note 60; Steingräber 1982) or as *tomba a dado* (Sgubini Moretti 1980, 1981, 1986; Martelli 1988, 27, note 10).

[33] Tuscania, storerooms Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 112.511. Other fragments: inv. No. 112.511 bis.

Tuscania, Pian di Mola, tomb in the shape of a house with a porticus: nos. 13, 70, 106, 161, 178[34]

In 1984 a tomb shaped as a house was brought to light at Pian di Mola in Tuscania. It had a rich sculptural decoration and contained the remains of the grave goods of the three funerary rooms. The tomb has been compared with the tombs in the Peschiera necropolis of Tuscania, a tomb in Blera (Ricciardi 1985, 4–8), as well as with the monumental building at Crocefisso di Castro (Sgubini Moretti 1986; Colonna 1986, 444–445).

Among the finds, five bases for acroterial sculptures on the ridged roof were recovered, together with a series of *cippi* and two acroterial disks. The disposition on the roof could be reconstructed on the basis of three of the statues (nos. 70, 161 and 178). Feline no. 13 is supposed to have stood on the porticus in front of the tomb.[35] Based on the grave goods the tomb is dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE, with burials at the end of the century (Sgubini Moretti 1989, 329–333).

Castro excavations

Anna Maria Sgubini Moretti and Maria Anna De Lucia Brolli recently discussed the documentation that exists in the archives for the Belgian and Italian excavations in Castro (Sgubini Moretti and De Lucia Brolli 2003). Most sculptures found in Castro have been attributed to a single tomb, called by the two Italian scholars Tomba dei Bronzi (Fig. 39).[36] De Ruyt had advanced three hypotheses (De Ruyt 1983, 76–77): a direct connection with the important tomb nearby, two lines of statues that flanked an access road to the necropolis (the only hypothesis advanced at first), or that the sculptural decoration was a part of a construction with a quadrangular layout, as indicated by four holes on a tufa stone plateau.[37] According to the most recent reconstruction, the sculpture seems to have to be connected directly to the tomb, of which two small

[34] Tuscania, Museo Archeologico. No. 13: inv. 112.514; no. 70: inv. 112.517; no. 106: inv. 119.363; no. 161: inv. 112.516; no. 178: inv. 112.515.

[35] Sgubini Moretti 1991, 28 fig. 11, and 30 fig. 12, with the new axonometric projection proposed.

[36] Sgubini Moretti and De Lucia Brolli 2003, 370–377; figs. 6–19; cf. De Ruyt 1983, fig. 1.

[37] The construction is indicated by holes of 44 cm width and 30 cm depth, put in a square with 1.75 m sides.

troncopyramidal pillars would mark the entrance of the *dromos* and the beginning of the area of respect. The holes are to be connected to a series of *cippi*, as in the Cima Tumulus of the San Giuliano necropolis (Steingräber, this volume). The sculpture would have been part of a single complex 'program' of decoration, with some pieces to be seen only sideways (the 'antae' with horse or hippocamp-decoration), some in a frontal position, and some from the left or from the right (in reference to the position of the heads and the tails). Sculptures would generally come in pairs, and the same creatures in different sizes (Sgubini Moretti and De Lucia Brolli 2003, 374–377).

The reconstruction is certainly attractive, even if it seems difficult to see pieces so different in quality as the winged lion (inv. 81268)—in Vulcian nenfro—and some of the others, like the apterous sphinx (inv. 81263), clearly locally elaborated in the typical pink nenfro, as work of the very same workshop. The latter piece, for example, is much more awkward, almost without a neck and with clear signs of 'redrawing' of the left eye.

Between 'outside' and 'inside'

A location of sculpture mid-way between outside and inside the tomb is that of the tombs *a cassone* of Vulci, with an open-air *vestibule*. In the Cuccumella context we have sculptures on the steps of the staircase vestibule probably still *in situ*.

Vulci, Cuccumella Tumulus: nos. 6, 19, 20, 31, 34, 52, 53, 63, 67, 93, 152, (157), (176), 305; 185[38]

A long series of studies has been dedicated to the Cuccumella Tumulus,[39] which included at least two burials in the southern part of the tumulus, named A and B (Sgubini Moretti 1994, pl. XII), while a third tomb seems to have been present in its northern part. Tomb A is the best

[38] No. 6: Vulci XI Hus; no. 19: Vulci 31 Hus; no. 20: Vulci XV Hus; no. 31; no. 34: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. Sk. 1257, Vulci 33 Hus; no. 52: Vulci, Museo Nazionale, inv. no. 132684; no. 53; no. 63: Vulci 34 Hus; no. 67: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. Sk. 1258, Vulci 27 Hus; no. 93: Vulci XII Hus; no. 152; no. 157: Vulci IX Hus; 176: Vulci VIII Hus; no. 305, Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia; no. 185.

[39] For the various excavations and bibliography cf. Bonamici 1980, 15–18; Sgubini Moretti 1988, 108; Sgubini Moretti 1994, 29, note 106; Buranelli 1994, 39; Tamburini 2000, *passim*.

known, comprising a long *dromos*, two axial rooms covered by a pseudo-vault, and preceded by an open-air *vestibule* with steps (interpreted as a sort of court used for funerary ceremonies), and two more small cells opening to the central room (Colonna 1986, 446; Buranelli 1994, 41). On the basis of its layout, Tomb A has been classified as type Prayon A2 (Prayon 1975, 54 and footnote 268, pl. 86:17) and can be dated to the second half of the 7th century BCE.

Marisa Bonamici in a fundamental study has distinguished two decorative cycles (Bonamici 1980) that are dated in the first and second quarter of the 6th century BCE,[40] confirming, but also partly modifying, the reconstructions made by Hus (1961) and Brown (1960). According to her, the winged lions nos. 19, 20, 31, 34, 52, 53 and 67 belong to the first phase of Tumulus decoration, while the wingless and crouching lion no. 6 and panther no. 93 have to be assigned to the second phase, dated to the second quarter of the 6th century BCE.

It has to be said that already Brown attributed nos. 19, 34 and 67 to the first group and nos. 6 and 93 to the second group of lions of Vulci, but he assigned them to different workshops within the same chronological period (Brown 1961, 62–70).

Hus also attributed the winged sphinxes nos. 33,[41] 157 and 176 to this context. Bonamici's proposal seems the most convincing, possibly with the inclusion of nos. 33, 157 and 176. The relationships between some of the pieces advanced by Hus have to be rejected, as pointed out by Bonamici.[42]

More pieces from the Ferraguti-Mengarelli excavations of the Cuccumella Tumulus have become known thanks to the studies of Francesco Buranelli (1994, 39–42). Numbers 63, 152 and 305 belong to the tumulus: a lion's head, a (probably) male head and a piece of a wing (probably of a sphinx). The sculptures came from the *dromos* (no. 305) and from the central room of Tomb A (nos. 63 and 152).

The lion's head has to be identified with the head published by Brown, who associated it with the other sculptures of the Cuccumella

[40] Sgubini Moretti suggested a chronology for the tumulus still within the 7th century BCE on the basis of its architecture; this chronology seems to have been generally accepted (Sgubini Moretti 1994 31, note 114).

[41] According to Brown, this piece, attributed to the Cuccumella, belongs rather to a winged lion (Brown 1960, 62, n. 3).

[42] Cf. Hus 1961, 188–193, in particular 191, and Bonamici 1980, footnotes 81 and 84. The identification between pieces known from old drawings and finds documented by photographs is accepted only in the case of no. 19.

(Brown 1960, 62, n. 4; Hus 1961, 50, n. 33), although this piece has never been definitively attributed to the tumulus. The head is now lost, but was registered by Brown at the Villa Giulia, and was located in the Vulci Museum by Hus. It is possible that the head belongs to one of the bodies of winged lions, no. 34 (now in Berlin) or no. 53, the latter probably to be identified with the lion found in the recent excavations, no. 52.

Head no. 152 does not belong to any of the winged lions but seems to fit with a sphinx, probably a male one. The head is very similar to head no. 142 of the Tomba Campana. Wing no. 305[43] seems more likely to belong to a sphinx than to a lion, because of the degree of curvature and of the way in which the feathers are executed. When we compare nos. 19, 34, 20, 31 and 53, which are more or less complete, this is confirmed and this fact contradicts its association with the isolated head no. 67. The lion's head no. 67 is in fact very similar to the head of the standing winged lion no. 19. The wing also must have been similar, in contrast to the wing no. 305. Comparison with winged sphinxes (nos. 157 and 176), which are known from old drawings, argue in favor of reconstructing no. 305 as a sphinx. Thus, the tumulus probably was decorated by other creatures besides the already known lions, both winged and apterous.

Sgubini Moretti has underlined the high quality and refinement of this group of decorative elements, chosen and created with concern for proportions. In order to create this effect both the colossal head no. 67 and felines no. 6 and no. 93 should be imagined on top of the tumulus (Sgubini Moretti 1994, 31–32, note 115). The photographical documentation of Ferraguti provides new confirmation of the existence of a construction on top of the tumulus, which in the most elaborate reconstructions of the tumulus has been described as one or more 'towers' (Buranelli 1994).

A quadrangular structure, the foundations of which reached the ground level, was positioned somewhere near the second of the axial burial rooms (Buranelli 1994, 41–42; pl. L: 150). The fact that its position was *not* in the center of the tumulus, as proposed by Messerschmidt[44] is confirmed when we look at the context map published by Sgubini

[43] The fragment is probably identical to the piece presented by Sgubini Moretti at the *Convegno di Studi Etruschi e Italici* of October 2001 (Sgubini Moretti 2005, pl. VIII:b).

[44] The central position was used as one of the arguments in favour of its interpretation as a medieval tower; Messerschmidt 1930, 422.

Moretti (see *supra*); its positioning at the center of this enormous tumulus would have interfered with the visibility of the sculptural decoration. As Sgubini Moretti already pointed out, we still have to understand the function of the cippus base on the tumulus, together with that of the platform, found during the recent excavations of the Italian Archaeological Service SAEM (Sgubini Moretti 1994, 32).[45]

A series of sculptures, probably to be identified (at least in part) with the preserved pieces, is documented in the archives, partly published by Sgubini Moretti. During the Marcelliani excavations of the Cuccumella Tumulus (1879–1883), a series of sculptures was found that belong to Tomb A (Sgubini Moretti 1994, 30, note 109). These sculptures probably can be partly identified with the ones listed for the Ferraguti excavations (1930), testifying that they were left at the site after their first discovery.

Other sculptures from Vulci

There is mention of sculptures of the Tenuta di Camposacala found "nei vestiboli" of the tombs, as in the case of the excavations carried out by the Società Campanari-Fosati.[46]

The sphinx no. 187[47] from the Tomba del Pittore della Sfinge Barbuta was found during the excavation of the *anticamera* of the tomb,[48] which had already been violated.[49] The generally accepted chronology for the sculpture in the third quarter of the 6th century BCE (Hus 1977, 40–41; Colonna 1970, 41)[50] is not in agreement with that indicated

[45] On the structure that abuts onto the tumulus, between tombs A and B, at least two other bases with feline paws and fragments of one or more bodies were found in 1985 (Sgubini Moretti 1994, 31, with note 113).

[46] No. 129: Vulci II Hus; no. 130: Vulci III Hus; no. 179: Vulci X Hus; no. 213: Vulci IV Hus; no. 214: Vulci X Hus; no. 220: Vulci I Hus; no. 221: Vulci VI Hus; no. 222: Vulci VII Hus; no. 245: Berlin, Staatliche Museen, inv. Sk. 1259, Vulci 30 and Vulci XIII Hus. Ricciardi 1989, 31. The pieces do not stem from the excavations of Prince Canino, as indicated by Hus (Hus 1961, 51).

[47] Rome, Museo Nazionale Etrusco di Villa Giulia, inv. 82567.

[48] Vulci, Necropoli dell'Osteria. Nardi 1972, 110.

[49] We have mentions of an illegal excavation (Colonna 1970, 34) and an ancient grave robbery (Nardi 1972, 110).

[50] Hus dates the tomb towards the end of the third quarter of the 6th century BCE (530–520 BCE). But cf. Martelli 1981, 238 fig. 237, who dates it to first half of the 6th century BCE and Lulof and Kars 1994, 54: mid 6th century BCE. See Sgubini Moretti 1994, 27 note 101, for another sphinx of the same type, no. 162, to be dated at an earlier time than was thought before on the basis of its find context.

by the grave goods.[51] The tomb contained more burials, dating from *c*. 620 to 580 BCE.

Some more small pieces of sculptures are mentioned as belonging to the vestibule of the Polledrara Tomba Costruita; unfortunately these "frustoli di sculture" are not depicted (Sgubini Moretti 1994, 16, 21 and note 69).

Stone sculpture inside the grave context

The sculptures in the open air *anticamera* were visible to the visitors of the necropolis, a fact which to us—although maybe not to contemporaries—seems to form an essential distinction for their interpretation. Only in a very few cases are sculptures mentioned that have been found *inside* the tomb and were certainly *in situ*. In more than one case we deal with pieces that have been abandoned by tomb-robbers, ancient or modern, because they were of no interest to them, while in other cases the farmers were responsible for the disappearance of the large pieces of stone so that they would not be bothered by them during ploughing. In Southern Etruria we have ascertained the presence of sculpture *inside* the tomb only in the case of the Tomba delle Statue of Ceri and, probably, in that of the Isis Tomb of Vulci.[52]

Ceri, Tomba delle Statue: nos. 204–205

The Ceri statues, discovered in July 1971 (Colonna 1973), have been interpreted by Colonna and von Hase as the two ancestors of the couple buried in the tomb (Colonna and Von Hase 1986, 35–41), while others prefer to see them as a marital couple, interpreting one of the two statues as female (Prayon 1998, 191–195); the former hypothesis seems by far the most likely.

Vulci, Tomba d'Iside: no. 212[53]

The Isis Tomb of the Polledrara necropolis has been discussed on more than one occasion because of two extraordinary pieces belonging

[51] A rich group of grave goods of the Late Orientalizing period, inv. nos. 82526–82581 (Rizzo 1983, 522). Cf. also Martelli 1977, 87.

[52] Also, in Northern Etruria, in the case of the Tumulo della Pietrera (cf. Hus 1961, pp. 23–35; 100–109).

[53] London, British Museum, Vulci 2 Hus.

to the context: the gypsum statue (no. 212) and the bronze bust that has given the name to the tomb. The various episodes following its discovery in 1839 have been reconstructed by Sybille Haynes (Haynes 1965, Ström 1971, 188–190; Haynes 1977 and Haynes 1991). The same scholar has also discussed the grave goods attributed to the context which arrived in the British Museum in 1850 (Haynes 1977).[54] Haynes dated the assemblage within the period from 620 to 550 BCE (Haynes 1977, 27).[55]

In the Isis Tomb, statue no. 212 has been interpreted as the deceased herself, depicted while offering a gift to the (underworld) divinity represented by the bronze bust, thus forming a statuary group *avant-la-lettre*. The bronze bust also has been connected to an alabaster "pilaster" found in the tomb (Roncalli 1998, 23; Haynes 1991). Proof that the statue was part of the original grave context and was positioned inside the tomb can be found in the traces of fire present both on the statue and on the other grave goods, as noted by Friederike Bubenheimer.

Orvieto, Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis: nos. 232; 233; 234

Sculptures nos. 232, 233 and 234 of the Crocefisso del Tufo Necropolis in Orvieto, which can be considered together with the more simple *segna-cippi*, are probably to be considered as *cippi* or external signs, even if some of them are found inside the tombs, presumably after the collapse of the ceiling. Recently, the sculptures of Orvieto and their find contexts have been considered by Adriano Maggiani (2005) and Francesco Roncalli (2007). The Crocefisso del Tufo necropolis, situated to the NW of the town, was discovered in 1874 and excavations were carried out by Mancini, owner of the land. The Tomb of the Double Bust (no. 232),[56] excavated in December 1879 (Helbig 1879, 229–230)[57] had a ceiling that had caved in, but the deceased were found *in situ*, apparently intact on the *banchina* by the rear wall. Several plain cippi were found together with the figural one. However, on the basis of the

[54] Cf. also Buranelli 1995, 101. A study on the context is in preparation by Friederike Bubenheimer (Ph.D. study at the University of Heidelberg), who kindly discussed the context with me in January 2000.

[55] Luisa Banti, though, dates statue no. 212 in the third quarter of the 6th century BCE (Banti 1960, 284).

[56] Florence, Museo Archeologico, inv. no. 73.138, Orvieto 1 Hus.

[57] Cf. Klakowicz 1972b, 188–189, tomb no. 34; tav. 5: 225; Maggiani 2005, 32–35.

contemporary excavation report of Wolfgang Helbig, it seems that the *cippi* most probably stood originally on top of the little tumulus that covered the tomb.

The colossal warrior heads (nos. 233 e 234) have also been interpreted as tomb signs or cippi. Head no. 234, now in the Museo di Orvieto,[58] comes from the Tomba del Guerriero (which takes its name from the sculpture)[59] and was found inside the tomb, the ceiling of which has collapsed (Helbig 1881, 263–273). Some remains of the plundered grave goods have been preserved, among which twelve other non-figural *cippi* and a bronze coin of imperial age have been discovered.[60] We do not seem to have precise information about the find context of the Florentine head (no. 233).[61]

Considering the fact that some simple *cippi* were found in association with the sculptures nos. 232 and 234 that might have had the role of grave markers, it is possible that these sculptures were originally positioned inside the tomb and represented the deceased. In the case of the helmeted heads nos. 233 and 234, it seems probable that the sculpture represented the deceased. The latter interpretation is supported by the inscription on the Orvieto head, classified as a warrior.[62] We cannot exclude a representation of an ancestor of the deceased, but the presence of the inscription actually makes this interpretation unlikely. Placement of the sculpture outside the tomb, as already pointed out by Maggiani, seems therefore the most probable position.

Outside or inside the tomb, the double bust no. 232 (two closely related deceased females?), remains enigmatic. It is almost necessary to return to the hypothesis formulated by Hus for the Pietrera sculptures that they were representations of divinities.[63] Additionally, it seems useful to consider the case of Tomb 30 of the Fondo Mancini, where a non-figural *cippus* without an inscription was found "outside the ditch near the head" (Klakowicz 1972b, 185–186). This example suggests that even the simpler versions of the *cippus* could represent the deceased, indicating its presence outside the tomb.

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[58] *Sine inv*., Orvieto 3 Hus.

[59] Klakowicz 1972a, 201–203 and Klakowicz 1972b, 201–204; tav. 5: 279. For the reconstruction of the grave context see now Maggiani 2005.

[60] For the complete list see Klakowicz 1972b, 202–203.

[61] Florence, Museo Archeologico, no. inv. 5488, Orvieto 2 Hus.

[62] *CIE* no. 5000: *larth cupures aranthia* (No. 234).

[63] Cf. Roncalli 2007, 249–252 for the interpretation as Vegoia.

Conclusion

The location of sculpture outside and, in particular, on top of the tumuli, which did not convince Hus as a generalized arrangement (Hus 1961, 417–418), has never been attested *in situ*, but there seems to be no reason to deny its existence. As a general tendency, sculpture indicates the focal point of attention, marking a boundary between the world of the living and the world which is *altro*. It was placed not only in connection with the door or around the entrance of the *dromos*, but also in the area of the magic circle of the tumulus.

The funerary character of stone sculpture, which seems to have been characteristic for this medium in Etruria, would have been clear for the visitor at first glance. Additionally, the typology of the various *Mischwesen*, companions to the other world or symbols of death rather than mere "guardians", would also have had significant meaning in this context. It is probably not by chance or only for aesthetic reasons that some of the sculpture still *in situ* has been found at the cardinal points and we probably should connect its position with the *disciplina etrusca*, the religious interpretation of space.

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PART THREE

RITUALS

CHAPTER NINE

THE EARLIEST ETRUSCAN TOAST. CONSIDERATIONS ON THE EARLIEST PHASES OF POPULONIA[1]

Gilda Bartoloni

Populonia in the Early Iron Age

The physiognomy of Populonia during the Early Iron Age has been, until recently, characterized essentially by its necropoleis. The necropoleis reveal the vitality of this center right from the beginning and they define the prominent position of the city, when compared to the other settlements of northern Etruria (Bartoloni 1989; 1991; 2000; 2002). Contacts with other regions are evident early on based on the archaeological artifacts and architecture. Particularly interesting are the ties to people on the Tyrrhenian islands (Bartoloni 1997), which explain the choice of settlement location (Bartoloni 2002). The position of Populonia is unique for northern Etruria: it is the only Etruscan settlement situated directly on the sea coast. Other Etruscan sites are located at least 5 km away from the sea, coastal lagoons or rivers, on hills, where they exploited wide arable and well-drained lands. While these sites generally had harbors to control access to the sea, the harbors never formed the primary settlement site.

Thus, while other large protourban Etruscan settlements were surrounded by farm land, the territory of Populonia also embraced the sea that connected it to the islands of the Tuscan Archipelago. The Iron Age finds on Elba confirm this bond with the coastal city. Also the legendary tradition of the origin of Populonia confirms the city's connection with the Tyrrhenian Sea. A well known passage of Servius (*ad Aen.* 10.172) gives three different versions of Populonia's foundation: the first connects the city to people of Corsica; the second indicates

[1] I am glad to dedicate this toast to my friend Jean Turfa, whose courtesy and scientific help I have always appreciated.

that is was founded as a colony by people from Volterra;[2] and the third argues that the Volterrans conquered it from the Corsicans.

Recently it has been suggested that the population of Populonia was concentrated on the promontory from the very beginning (Bartoloni 2005). This theory is an alternative to the hypothesis, based on the distribution of the Villanovan necropoleis—Poggio del Telegrafo to the south and Casone, Piano and Poggio delle Granate to the north—that asserted the existence of at least two contemporary villages (Pacciarelli 2001; Peroni 2002). The hypothesis of Delpino (1981), supported by Colonna (1981), suggests seeing a perhaps more ancient settlement, evidenced by the necropolis of Poggio delle Granate, with some Protovillanovan precursors and a following development in the area of the hill occupied by Populonia during the historical period, as shown by the funerary occupation of Poggio della Guardiola area. A distribution of the settlements, which considers both issues of chronology and topography, would allow the identification of an important moment in the history of the center, a moment of crisis and interruption, coinciding with the move of its nucleus toward the slopes and the summit of the hill (the historical Populonia).

However, the recent surveys led by the University of Siena in the hills surrounding the Gulf of Baratti (Botarelli 2003) have not revealed any traces of this period, not even in Poggio San Leonardo, a site that is generally connected to the necropolis of Piano and Poggio delle Granate (Bartoloni 1989; 1991). Evidence from the beginning of the Iron Age was found in the Poggio della Guardiola. Populonia differs from other Etruscan settlements in that chamber tombs are attested early on at the necropolis of Poggio and Piano delle Granate. This is an extraordinary development in so far as it clearly reflects the social ordering of society at the funerary level. The use of the family grave in Populonia predates by at least one century its use at other Etruscan settlements, revealing a strong sense of aristocratic continuity at Populonia from the middle of the 9th century BCE (Bartoloni 2000). It seems unlikely that the large funerary complex of Piano and Poggio delle Granate, the most important necropolis also from an architectural point of view, should be associated with a small satellite village.

[2] On the prominent role of Volterra within northern Etruria, which could justify the tradition related to the colonization of Populonia, see Bonamici 2003, 520.

The variability of the data coming from surveys and the lack of stratigraphical investigations of most of the areas occupied by the city of the historical period induce us to consider each hypothesis about its earliest stages with caution. Nevertheless, at present what seems to emerge is a concentration of traces of settlement of this epoch only on the promontory; Villanovan remains have been found on the two hills of Telegrafo and of Castello, especially in the saddle between the two hills, and in the area surrounding them. The recent discovery of ceramic fragments during surveys at Punta delle Pianacce suggests that we can recognize a village on Populonia's promontory.

The excavation in progress on the slopes of Poggio del Telegrafo, organized by the Soprintendenza Archeologica per la Toscana with the participation of students of the Cattedra di Etruscologia e Archeologia Italica of the University of Rome, and coordinated by the present writer, has shown that the settlement was already organized on terraces during the earliest occupation phase, from the beginning of the Iron Age to the late Orientalizing period. The areas along the ridges of the hills were also inhabited. The necropoleis therefore delimited the settlement area (Bartoloni 2007A).

Camilli (2005) has recently suggested dating the Strabonian harbor of Populonia back to the proto-historical period.[3] This implies that one of the harbors of the city could have been located at least 4 km from the center. The settlement of the Populonian territory, both inland and on the coast, is dated already to the final phase of the Early Iron Age and the beginning of the Orientalizing period, as shown by the finds of Villa Salus in S. Vincenzo, one or two rural settlements recognized in the S. Antonio area and Franciana near the stream Acquaviva, a series of productive sites in the area that separated the lagoon from the Gulf of Follonica's sea. Also the hoard of Bambolo near Castagneto Carducci, the depositions of Riparo Biserno, the necropolis of Pitti Mountain in the Cornia basin, and other tumuli on the slopes of Mount Valerio belong to this phase. The area behind the Gulf of Follonica seems to never have been settled, probably due to the presence of large swamps in the area. Recent research (Esposito 1999) has delineated the territorial boundary with Vetulonia to the south, along the course of the Pecora. The northern boundary with Volterra was probably marked

[3] Analogous suggestions have been made for the harbor of Vetulonia, which was located near Lake Prile.

by a water course south of the Cecina between Bibbona and Bolgheri, while to the east, a boundary line could be traced between the islands of Capraia and Pianosa.

The hoard of Falda della Guardiola, considered as evidence of a foundation rite for the fortification that traced the circuit of the lower city walls, was probably buried in the middle of the 8th century BCE. At that time a reoccupation of the territory is noted, albeit of a very different nature from that of the Late Bronze Age. The presence of a fortification that dates back to the 8th century BCE now finds comparison in the excavations conducted by Francesca Boitani at Veii, by Mariolina Cataldi at Tarquinia and by Anna Sgubini Moretti at Vulci, where defensive structures with embankment have been identified (Chianciano, Chiusi, In press).

In my opinion, the early Iron Age forms an important step in the history of Etruscan society, evidenced both in the settlements and in the necropoleis by the emergence of the aristocracy (Bartoloni 2003). The appearance of a stable and articulated settlement hierarchy by the middle or end of the 8th century BCE represents an evident change in the history of the landscape of these areas. With the birth of these new settlements, often in areas already occupied during the Final Bronze Age, there is a reversal in the manner of occupation of the territory in comparison to the situation created by the birth of the proto-urban centers.

Similar to the situation that we must imagine for the great Villanovan centers, the decision-making process that resulted in an increasingly systematic occupation of rural areas must be attributed to centralized political organizations. This phenomenon has been connected to the birth of a real aristocratic landscape. The formation of an aristocracy, a small group of people that governed through their prominent position in comparison to the rest of the population, a position that soon tended to become hereditary, appears common to all of the most important political organizations of antiquity. Every Etruscan aristocrat tried to present himself as a *rex* inside his own social group, whether that group was the *familia* or the more or less widened *gens*, the *curia* or even the *populus*.

The aristocratic building at Poggio del Telegrafo

The rectangular building found during the excavations of Poggio del Telegrafo (Fig. 40), was an important element in the architectural land-

scape of the early urban center, and it must have been the residence of the local king. It had a thatched roof, supported by wooden posts and it seems to have been restored at least three times before being abandoned in the first quarter of the 7th century BCE. The identification of this structure as 'the king's house' would reveal the primary use of the acropolis of the Etruscan city.

In fact, during the intentional abandonment of the complex, a cut was made (0.60 × 0.40 × 0.50 m) through the southern post-holes of the third line. It had been filled by a large number of kyathoi, which had a surmounting handle and an umbilicate bottom (with few typological and dimensional variants). The kyathoi were generally complete, or broken after deposition (Fig. 41). The small dimensions of the pit caused a dense accumulation of the cups, some of which have been found stacked in groups of two or three. An estimate based on the complete and half-preserved vessels allowed us to identify between 77 and 84 cups, to which must be added several fragments still in restoration. The deposit was probably formed in a very short lapse of time, perhaps as a single deposition, to judge from the concentration and from the state of preservation of the material. A practice connected with the consumption of food or drink is suggested by the composition of the earth fill of the pit, characterized by a reddish color and by the strong presence of organic material,[4] as well as by the shape of the vessels.

Most of the cups (Fig. 42) can be attributed to a kyathos type with everted lip and rounded or flattened rim, a more or less compressed body with separate shoulder, and a convex and umbilicate bottom; the surmounting handles are circular in section on the upper part and flattened at the base, with rare traces of decoration consisting of groups of incised lines. The complete vessels measure between 3 and 5 cm in height to the lip. The type finds comparisons in quite a wide area, and appears in contexts dated between the last decades of the 8th and the first decades of the 7th century BCE. The type is found at Populonia, Casale Marittimo, Vulci, Poggio Buco and Tarquinia.[5]

[4] Currently being analyzed at of the Center of Restoration of the Soprintendenza per i Beni Archeologici della Toscana.

[5] For Populonia, see Fedeli 1983, 222 no. 83, 308 no. 181; Romualdi 1994, 180; for Casale Marittimo, see Maggiani 2006, 436 fig. 4; for Vulci see Mangani 1995, 396 no. 4.12, figs. 18.2 and 21.2, 409; Moretti Sgubini 2001, 196 nos. III.B.1.35–39; for Poggio Buco see Bartoloni 1972, 48 nos. 8–10. And for Tarquinia, see Hencken 1968, 216 fig. 191 h, 346 fig. 346 c; Cristofani 1985, 75 no. 257; Spadea Noviero in Bonghi Jovino 1986, nos. 603–604; Bruni in Bonghi Jovino 1986, no. 667.

One fragment of a handle with incised decoration finds a nearly precise comparison (apart from the decoration, which is less rich in the cup from the deposit) with an example from the grave 2/1920 of Poggio della Porcareccia in Populonia, where fragments of kotylai and Protocorinthian pyxides from the early 7th century BCE were also found (Minto 1921, 306, fig. 6; see also Martelli 1981, 406–407; Fedeli 1983, 283, n. 160). Three cups have a more defined shoulder, a low ring foot, and a surmounting handle with shaped edges. For these, the best comparison at the moment is represented by the vases from the tumulus of Poggio Gallinaro at Tarquinia that are among the first examples of the local bucchero.[6]

In the Chiavari necropolis, in Liguria, among the so-called *impasto buccheroide* ware there are some umbilicate cups, similar to those of Poggio del Telegrafo. They are usually found together with empty ollas and connected to the ceremonial consumption of wine (Melli 1993, 105–106, 114–115; Palladino 2004, 252–253, IV.1.3.6). This evidence confirms the vitality of the trading route that reached the coasts of Tuscany and Liguria between the last decades of the 8th century and the first decades of the 7th century BCE (Maggiani 2006).

Evidence of a drinking ritual

The deposit of cups at Populonia can be considered as a sign of a symbolic action undertaken at a specific moment, which marks the end of the life of the earliest phase of the rectangular structure. The number of the cups, which amounts to almost a hundred, and the recurrence of the form of the cup suggests a collective participation in the event as well as the use of a drink with strong symbolic value, probably wine.

The excavations in the Etruscan inhabited areas show that rituals played a prominent role in the events that preceded or concluded structural or functional changes in the use of a given area. The case of the Civita of Tarquinia is emblematic: here bloody actions and symbolic offers have been recognized (Bonghi Jovino, In press), and related to the so-called "complesso sacro-istituzionale" (Serra Ridgway 2006). Evidence of similar rituals is also emerging at smaller sites, such as

[6] Petrizzi in Bonghi Jovino 1986, 213 no. 591. Note, for example, the cup made in the so-called 'brown surface bucchero', dated to the second quarter of the 7th century BCE.

Campassini-Monteriggioni where, towards the end of 8th–7th century BCE, in the settlement area several pits seem to have been closed by ritual depositions of vases or animals (Bartoloni 2002, 21; Acconcia and Biagi 2002, 90–99, 118). The deposit of nearly one hundred cups at Populonia undoubtedly marks the destruction of the rectangular structure, a building of high rank.

The cup with surmounting handle appears to be clearly related to wine drinking in the early and middle Orientalizing period; the cup is used both to draw liquids from craters or ollas, and as a jug (Bartoloni, Acconcia and Ten Kortenaar, In press). A sure sign of this use is its presence as an imported object in grave 168 (the grave of Nestor's cup) in the San Montano necropolis of Pithekoussai (Nizzo 2007), which, according to Murray (1994), may document the first use of the symposium in the central-western Mediterranean. All the vases exported from Pithekoussai to the local settlements (amphorae, cups) or imported from the Tyrrhenian coast to the Greek city (*anforette*, cups) are related to wine drinking (Bartoloni 2006). The most famous attestation for the function of this type of cup comes from its presence, together with a kantharos, in the metallic and in the ceramic set of the Warrior grave of Tarquinia (Kriseleit 1988).

Wine consumption

It is interesting to notice that wine is a masculine prerogative in Athenian funerary assemblages. Only neck amphorae are attributed to males, generally warriors; the rounded amphorae and the hydriae, connected with the water, are female (Belletier 2003). An example of the latter is the Greek-type hydria used as an ossuary in deposition 160 of the necropolis of Poggio Selciatello of Tarquinia (d'Agostino 2006, 338–339), which is probably attributable to a woman of Greek origin (Bartoloni 2007B).

The Greek distinguishes himself from the barbarian in drinking wine mixed with the water and, during specific occasions, ritualizing the consumption of this drink. Already in Homer, "Alcinous spoke to the herald, and said: 'Pontonous, mix the bowl, and serve wine to all in the hall, that we may pour libation also to Zeus'" (Hom. *Od.* 7.179–180).[7]

[7] All translations from Homer can be found in the Loeb Classical Library, trans. A. T. Murray.

The composure of Alcinous and the Achaeans during the banquet "è contrapposta alla disastrosa inumanità di chi ignora che bere è un atto di civiltà" (Della Bianca 2002, 29). The symposium appears therefore as a "pratica d'intrattenimento conviviale centrata sul consumo del vino" (Lombardo 1989, 311). This habit, being an important moment of socialization and aggregation, has been considered "l'espressione originale tra VIII e VII secolo a.C. di uno stile di vita aristocratico legato all'emergere di una vera e propria aristocrazia, come ceto (o ordine) sociale che tende a riconoscersi, definirsi e distinguersi" (Vetta 1983, XL).

The location of the post-hole filled with cups in the center of the structure allows us to think of a ceremony that took place in the central area, used for meetings by the representatives of the whole community, such as that reconstructed by the Carandini team for the *Domus Regia* near the Temple of Vesta (Carandini 2006, 538–544). Thus, the deposition of the cups is the sign of a ceremony that took place on the occasion of the destruction of the 'royal building'.

Braccesi's reference to the joyful toast that was made in an exclusive circle of Mytilene on the island of Lesbos to celebrate the death of a tyrant is attractive. This is the first toast with a definite political connotation from Western literature (Braccesi 1991). Alcaeus invites the companions of *eteria* to an uncontrolled drinking (Voigts 1963, fr. 332).

The connection of these cups with wine and their pertinence to a group of eminent people has to be considered more than likely. We lack written sources on the role of ritual drinking in Etruria, and therefore the texts created in the same period in the Eastern Mediterranean, that is the Homeric poems, can offer a helpful comparison (Ampolo 2000). Most researchers, considering the long pre-Homeric oral tradition, agree about setting the economic and social background of the Homeric poems in the 8th century BCE: the customs and traditions of the contemporary dominant class had to be reflected in the Iliad and in the Odyssey. Testimony of such a practice can be found when a Phoenician woman leads a young Eumaeus through the palace of his father, Ctesius, on the island of Syria. Homer writes: "but she took me by the hand, and led me forth from the house. Now in the forehall of the palace she found the cups and tables of the banqueters who waited upon my father. They had gone forth to the council and the people's place of debate" (Hom. *Od.* 15.465– 468). Or during the meeting when it was decided to send the embassy to Achilles in the

Iliad: "youth filled the bowls brimful of drink, and served out to all, pouring first drops for libation into the cups" (Hom. *Il.* 9.96–181E). Another reference can be found when Athena remarks, in front of the palace of Alcinous: "here, father stranger, is the house which you asked me to show you, and you will find the kings, fostered of Zeus, feasting at the banquet" (Hom. *Od.* 7.50).

The above mentioned Homeric characters, called *basileis*, can well represent the distinguished figures of the different communities of protohistorical Italy. These men were elite in comparison with the rest of their community not only in terms of their funerary assemblage but also for their particular type of dwelling. Elite houses differ from the simple huts owned by other community members not only in terms of the dimensions but also because of the presence of areas designed for public reunions. The interpretation of 'the king's house' with a space for collective meetings, could also be applied to the oldest structure of Casalvecchio of Casale Marittimo with its large portico (Esposito 1999) or Roselle's round house with enclosures of the middle Orientalizing period (Bartoloni and Bocci Pacini 2002).

In conclusion, a libation by one hundred people at Poggio del Telegrafo witnessed and ritualized the destruction of the house of the king (Fig. 43). This ceremony could also have been used to celebrate the assumption of power of new leadership in the area of Populonia. After all, in Rome during the Archaic period there is an association between wine and sovereign power (Coarelli 1995, 202).

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CHAPTER TEN

ON MUTILATED MIRRORS

Nancy T. de Grummond

The act of breaking or covering over a mirror is commonly accompanied by strong feelings, probably because of the widespread perception that a mirror contains within itself another world that is no longer accessible if the mirror, a kind of pathway to that world, is closed down. Many cultures have the custom of covering over the mirrors in the house at the time of a death,[1] to prevent the soul of the deceased from taking refuge in the mirror's interior world, only to return later because that place provided no permanent rest. Our popular superstition that the accidental breaking of a mirror brings seven years of bad luck is another example of how the user of a mirror may feel that a path has been broken. In this case, the force within the mirror is evidently regarded as something positive that can be accessed as long as the mirror is maintained. The careless person who breaks the mirror thereupon loses access to the fragile commodity of good fortune. The Etruscans had customs relating to the mutilation of mirrors, and in all cases they seem to relate to a tomb context, that is, to another world to which the mirrors might provide a pathway. In this article written as an offering to Jean Turfa,[2] I propose to survey as fully as possible the published examples of ritual cancellation or damaging of Etruscan mirrors, and probe the nature of the belief that may have motivated these acts.

Thus far only a small percentage of Etruscan mirrors have been identified as having been intentionally mutilated so that they could

[1] See Goldberg 1985, 1–3 on the relationship between reflections and death.

[2] I am delighted to have this opportunity to write up the results of a study I originally undertook at Jean's invitation, when I gave a paper on this topic at a session she organized on "Etruscans in the Museum", at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, in Philadelphia, January 3–6, 2002. I thank her most sincerely for the many occasions on which she has stimulated, supported and responded to my efforts in research on the Etruscans.

no longer be used (de Grummond 2002, 309).[3] Most obvious of these are the mirrors that have the word *śuθina*, 'for the tomb', which are surveyed in Appendix I. In most cases, the word is written on the reflecting side of the mirror, but one mirror (no. 6) has *śuθina* written on both sides and another has the inscription on the engraved side of the mirror (no. 8). In effect, what the inscription does is cancel the reflecting side, since the inscription would interfere with anyone trying to use the mirror.

A mirror in the Museo Faina in Orvieto will serve as a typical example of the 'suthinized' mirrors (no. 18; Figs. 44–45).[4] Upon its reverse is a scene with a four-figure group surrounded by a Spiky Garland, of a composition that occurs on numerous Etruscan mirrors, with Menrva in the middle, identifiable by her helmet, and with a naked female figure beside her, perhaps Turan. The two are flanked and framed by two males who look like twins and wear a Phrygian cap, and are readily identifiable as the Tinascliniar (Dioskouroi). It is interesting that there are two other mirrors in the Faina collection, one with a Spiky Garland and the other with a guilloche border, showing slight variations on this four-figure group (nos. 19–20). Five more examples in other collections show the combination of Spiky Garland and four-figure group (nos. 2, 6, 15, 17, 18). Should we think there is some connection between this particular subject matter and decoration and the ritual of canceling the reflecting side? In fact this can be answered immediately in the negative, since the subject matter varies considerably in mirrors with *śuθina*, as may be seen by a glance at their list. There are other Spiky Garland mirrors with highly innovative subjects such as the healing of Prumathe (Prometheus) by Esplace (Asklepios) and the construction of the horse Pecse by Sethlans and Etule, as well as mirrors not of the Spiky Garland category with strongly ritual depictions such as the Egg scene from Porano (no. 8), which shows a family group gathered around the egg of Elinai, or the famous mirror in the British Museum

[3] The listings given in Appendices I and II to this article correct some erroneous statements that appeared in the earlier article. The total number of relevant mirrors has increased to 32 in the present count, but still remains a quite small percentage of all Etruscan mirrors known.

[4] Richard De Puma introduced the verb 'to suthinize' in his paper on "A Third-Century B.C. Tomb Group from Bolsena in the Metropolitan Museum of Art", at the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, San Diego, January 3, 2007. The community of Etruscan scholars has found the word useful and in a short time it has become a natural part of our language.

(no. 5) which depicts an initiation ceremony for infants designated by the term Mariś.

The explanation for the relationship among these mirrors and the others in the group that has been made in the past seems secure:[5] though many are of unknown provenance, a pattern emerges in which a significant number of the mirrors—six in all—are reported to have been found in the vicinity of Orvieto (Volsinii) or Bolsena (nos. 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12). Another three in the Faina Museum in Orvieto may plausibly be connected with this territory as well (nos. 18–20). Further, it is well known that among the numerous inscriptions of *śuθina* known on a variety of objects—pitchers, buckets, strigils, incense burners—a very large number of them can be traced to this same geographical area. Rix lists 133 examples,[6] almost all connected with the territory of Volsinii, and almost all of bronze; a few scattered examples come from Cerveteri and Campania. Two 'suthinized' mirrors come from the area of Chiusi (nos. 15, 21). Furthermore these objects seem to belong to a particular moment in time, around the end of the 4th and the first half of the 3rd century BCE. Thus the ritual of marking something as *śuθina*, 'for the tomb', is really to be understood first as a larger phenomenon, reflecting some widespread ritual practice; within this spectrum mirrors constitute a sub-group that may nevertheless have its own rationale.

In many cases the markings do not really deface, but rather decorate the objects. A collection of fine bronzes in the Vatican, at once superb and yet typical of 'suthinized' items, demonstrates this effect. From the tomb of Laris Havrenies, found at Bolsena and dating to the end of the 4th century BCE (Buranelli 1992, 134–141), come 15 bronze items forming part of a service for the banquet of eternity, including a grand krater, several situlae, two large pitchers, two strainers and a group of small jugs. The inscriptions are placed on the rims, handles and bodies of the vessels, always neatly, and looking like decoration. The beauty of *śuθina* can be seen even more in the splendid objects from the tomb group from Bolsena in the Metropolitan Museum of which the Prumathe mirror is a part.[7] Here the inscriptions are delicately

[5] Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973, 561–565, 638. *CSE* USA 23.11.

[6] See the index in *ET*, vol. I, 161 and 162 under *śuθina/śutina*.

[7] Under study by De Puma (see note 4). Bonfante in *CSE* USA 3.11, 40 gives the rich bibliography. See also Bonfante 1990, 41–42 for the bronze service of Larth Metie from Castelgiorgio near Orvieto, featuring a group of bronze vessels (nine survive), dating to the late 4th century BCE and featuring *śuθina* inscriptions.

applied to a range of objects of gold, silver and bronze with a punch to create lines of dots to make the letters.

Looking back at the mirrors with *śuθina* it is evident that when these objects were prepared for the grave, they normally remained attractive. The lettering was carefully done, and the closing of the window in the mirror was firm and controlled. Rather different is another ritual of canceling mirrors to which I would like to call attention. From time to time scholars have noted that some mirrors seemed to be intentionally damaged (*CSA* USA 3.4; *CSA* USA 2.44). They are not many, but brought together they do prove, I think, that there was such a ritual. I have prepared a hand list of these as well (Appendix II), and will call attention to some of the ways in which they differ from the *śuθina* mirrors, and then to some of the rather important characteristics they share.

The evidence for ritual mutilation of mirrors begins almost 150 years earlier than the period we have been discussing, with a late Archaic mirror attributed to Vulci, depicting the goddess Thesan (Appendix II: no. 6; Fig. 46). Unfortunately nothing is known of the find spot, but it is very likely that the object was placed in a tomb and that it was dedicated to the dead by being folded up. Some force was necessary. The fold seems to have been toward the reverse, so that the image showing Thesan in flight would have been concealed when the act of 'closing' the mirror was completed. Yet another example of folding is found considerably later, in a mirror in Perugia (no. 8; Fig. 47), where the handle was bent back toward the reflecting side, making it very difficult for someone to look into it. The subject matter on this mirror of the first half of the 3rd century BCE implies a ritual, showing an altar with two males seated upon it, with an incense burner beside them. They are getting armed with the help of a female, and are probably Orestes and Pylades coming to the aid of Iphigenia.

Then there are the mirrors that show gouging, most prominent of which is a stunning example at Harvard (no. 10; Fig. 48), perforated by no less than ten holes. Some kind of spike or cylindrical sharp pointed object must have been stabbed or hammered again and again into the disc. This mirror also belongs to the first half of the 3rd century BCE, and in fact shows distinct affinities with many of the mirrors in the *śuθina* group, having the Spiky Garland and a three-figured group featuring Menrva. Another connecting note is sounded by a five-figure composition dating to the late 4th century BCE, gouged repeatedly, which comes from Viterbo in the orbit of Volsinii (no. 5). Two mirrors

in the group have Egg themes (nos. 2 and 3), causing us to wonder again whether subject content on the mirrors can be linked in any way with the rituals involved in burying mirrors.

Thus far we have seen mirrors canceled by writing, by folding and by gouging. I would like to suggest that there is yet another category to be recognized and that is mirrors that have been pounded or hammered. For this we can return to the mirror with which we started (Appendix I: no. 18; Fig. 44), and this time look at the cross-section drawing. It reveals a pronounced depression in the center of the mirror, which can only have been achieved in one way, by pounding it with a hammer or small mallet. The circular pattern of the cracks going around the periphery of the depression supports this conclusion. Maria Stella Pacetti describes the result as "fratture provocate dal consistente schiacciamento del recto" (*CSA* Italia 4.6, 21). This mirror is the most suggestive evidence that there is in fact probably a link between the two groups of mirrors surveyed here. This one, with a likely provenance of Orvieto (Volsinii) and a dating in the first half of the 3rd century BCE, features the Spiky Garland, the four-figure group, the word *śuθina*, and the forcibly mutilated reflecting surface. A mirror from Norchia (Appendix II: no. 9), of precisely this same period and not too far away from Orvieto, likewise shows a "schiacciamento" (*CSE* Italia 5.38).

There are in fact other objects from the territory of Volsinii that show ritual mutilation. While for the lady there was the mirror, for the lord there was armor. At Bomarzo a grave of the 4th century BCE (Buranelli 1992, 96) yielded a bronze corselet with numerous holes in it; perhaps these were inflicted in battle, but other items in the burial showed clear evidence of intentional mutilation so that they would not be fit for a living warrior. Also in the tomb were two crushed shin guards and a shield of bronze, broken and folded. Again from Bomarzo, but dating considerably earlier (6th–5th century BCE) is a shield in the Vatican (Buranelli 1992, 100), covered with cuts and gouges and folded in three and deposited in the burial.

This kind of practice is regularly referred to as 'killing' the object, so that it can accompany the deceased to the afterlife.[8] There is certainly other evidence for this kind of behavior in Etruria, beginning in the Iron Age with the well-known custom of breaking off one of the handles

[8] Philpott 1991, 239; Chapman 2000, 25; *CSA* USA 2.44, esp. 62; Bonfante 2006, 20 and 24 (note 39). I thank William A. Parkinson for assistance with this topic.

of the ash urn, presumably to render it impossible to carry by a person in the real world.[9] Of course the very act of cremating was intended to make the human body undergo a transformation, releasing the spirit to another world. Similarly, burning grave goods on a pyre meant that they were destined for another kind of existence.

On the whole, I am doubtful that these were the only conditioning factors in the very particular phenomenon that we see in the treatment of mirrors in the area of Orvieto, Bolsena and their periphery in the late 4th and early 3rd centuries BCE. Given that in most cases, the mutilation of the mirrors was done to the reflecting side, I think it is likely that the ritual behavior here is linked not only to the idea that the object must be altered for use in the afterlife, but also to beliefs about the power of the mirror to negotiate between worlds. The careful placement of *śuθina* across the viewing area of the disc did not mean necessarily that the mirror was killed, only that it was ready for the tomb. That is, it would no longer allow passage back and forth. No one living could see into it, and no deceased person could travel back from the other world through that pathway. In this case the motive, which was probably fear, expressed itself in a subdued and formal fashion, using the written word to control the force associated with the mirror and not attempting to break it. This restrained attitude seems contradictory to the other approach, to attack the mirror and gouge it or hammer it, and especially baffling is the case of the Faina mirror (Figs. 44–45) in which we seem to have both rituals used on the same mirror. Is there any way to reconcile this seemingly vicious treatment of the object with the other custom in which the mirror is kept intact, but symbolically sealed?

I suggest that the two rituals actually make two necessary statements that are not contrary but complementary. The first case, as stated, concerns the problems that might arise if the doorway-like mirror is left open. The other ritual may have to do with the fact that the Etruscan mirror was demonstrably an instrument of prophecy and fate (de Grummond 2000), and the goal of the ritual may have been to shut down

[9] Such urns are found with two handles in habitation areas, but the ones for the grave were almost always one-handled, either having been made that way or having had one handle broken off. See Bartoloni 1989, 123–124, where an alternative explanation for the one-handled urn is offered, however; it may have been thought of as analogous with water jars, which women regularly held on the head with one hand. See also Tovoli 1989, 28.

not the passage way, but the power of the mirror to negotiate fate and fortune. It is probably no accident that the Orvieto mirror and several others seem to show blows from a hammer, or in some cases, holes made by a large spike, which would have to be driven by a hammer. This ritual of mutilating Etruscan mirrors may provide yet another example of how the hammer and nail were used as instruments of fate in Etruria.[10] The picture is not completely tidy, since mirrors that are gashed or folded are not necessarily accommodated by this hypothesis. Clearly more examples are needed to test and possibly expand the theory, and it is hoped that those who are studying the mirrors close at hand will be alert to the physical conditions of the mirrors that may bring greater understanding of these rituals.

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[10] On nails of fate and prophecy in Etruria and elsewhere see especially Colonna 2001 and Bonfante 2006, 23–24 and note 45.

APPENDIX I: MIRRORS WITH *ŚUΘINA*

In the following hand list of mirrors with the word *śuθina*, I have used the following protocol: number in *ET* or in *CSE* or *ES*; present location and provenance of mirror; border and subject matter of the medallion on the reverse (mythological names are listed going from left to right on the mirror); any essential comments; additional bibliography (by no means exhaustive); and date. All *śuθina* inscriptions are on the obverse unless otherwise stated.

From *ET*:

1. Vs 4.18 (=Vs S.3). Formerly Borgia Collection. Provenance unknown. Umaele, Alpunea, Euturpa, Ziumite, Elinei, Talmithe. *ES* 196; *REE* 53, 51. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
2. Vs 4.19. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland. Two flanking twin male figures in tunic, Menrva, nude male. Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973, 325 no. 69; *ES* 22, 131. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
3. Vs 4.20. Viterbo, Museum. Provenance unknown. Three-figure group barely legible. Inscription *suṭina* on the obverse. *ES* 31, 223, 5; *CIE* 10518. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
4. Vs 4.38 (=Vs S.5). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland, Sethlans, Etule and Pecse. Listed a second time by mistake by Rix under Vs 4.113 (based on *ES* 1, 90, note 132c). *ES* 235.2; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973, 252 no. 51. Late 4th-early 3rd century BCE.
5. Vs 4.47 (=Vs S. 14). London, British Museum, from Bolsena. Turms, Menrva, Turan, Laran and Amatutunia, with three babies named Mariś. *ES* 3, 257 B; *CIE* 10840. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
6. Vs 4.48 and Vs 4.49 (=Vs S. 16). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland. Aplu, Menrva, Turan, Laran. *śuθina* written on both the obverse and reverse. *ES* 257 c 1; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973, 77 no. 9. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
7. Vs 4.73. Orvieto, Museum. From Grotte di Castro. Griffin. Mirror of Praenestine type. *CIE* 10888. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
8. Vs 4.74 (=Vs S.18). Orvieto, Museo del Duomo, from Porano. Tuntle, Turan, Pultuce, Castur, Latva. Inscription *ceithurnial śuθina* on reverse. *CIE* 10680; *ES* 5.77, *REE* 40, 69. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.

9. Vs 4.89 (=Vs S. 22). London, British Museum, from Bolsena. Spiky Garland. Vanth, Achle, Evas, Echtur, Truile. *CIE* 10862; *ES* 5, 110. First half of 3rd century BCE.
10. Vs 4.90 (=Vs. S. 21). Florence, Archaeological Museum, from Bolsena. Castur, Aratha, Fufluns, Eiasun, Aminth. *CIE* 10863; *ES* 5, 88. First half of 3rd century BCE.
11. Vs 4.91 (=Vs S. 24). Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Provenance unknown. Hercle, Tinia, Uni, Vile (?). *ES* 4, 346; Rebuffat-Emmanuel 1973, no. 1. 3rd century BCE.
12. Vs 4.93 (=Vs S. 23). New York, Metropolitan Art Museum, from Bolsena. Esplace, Prumathe, Menrva, Hercle. *CIE* 10844, *CSE* USA 3.11. 3rd century BCE.
13. Vs 4.111. Vatican, Museo Gregoriano. Provenance unknown. Prancing Griffin. Mirror of Praenestine type. *ES* 5.157, 1. Late 4th–3rd century BCE.
14. Vs 4.114. Location and Provenance unknown. Charsekin 1963, 78, 14. Late (Rix).
15. Vs 4.115 (=Vs S. 27). Present location unknown. From Sarteano. Spiky Garland. Capne, Casura, Evan, Castur. Inscription *mi śuθina*. *ES* 5, 87.2; *REE* 42, 281. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
16. Vs 4.116 (=Vs S. 26). Madrid (?), Achle, Evas, Turms, Aplu. *ES* 1, 90, note 132a; *ES* 1, 22.7; *ES* 235.1. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.

From *CSE*:

17. *CSE* Belgium 1.29. Andenne, Private Collection. Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland, 4-figure group with Menrva and 3 youths. 3rd century BCE.
18. *CSE* Italia 4.6. Orvieto, Museo "Claudio Faina". Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland, 4 figure group with Menrva, twin youths (Tinascliniar?), and nude female. First half of 3rd century BCE.
19. *CSE* Italia 4.16. Orvieto, Museo "Claudio Faina". Provenance unknown. Guilloche. Four-figure group with Menrva, twin youths (Tinascliniar?) and nude youth. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.
20. *CSE* Italia 4.28. Orvieto, Museo "Claudio Faina". Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland. Four-figure group with Menrva, twin youths (Tinascliniar?) and a clothed female figure. First half of the 3rd century BCE.

From *ES*:

21. *ES* 5, no. 102.2. London, British Museum. From Chiusi. Spiky Garland. Four-figure group with ladies fixing their hair. Late 4th–early 3rd century BCE.

APPENDIX II: MUTILATED MIRRORS

In the following hand list of mutilated mirrors, all items are from the *CSE*. I have used a protocol similar to that observed in Appendix I: *CSE* number; present location and provenance of mirror; border and subject matter of the medallion on the reverse (mythological names are listed going from left to right on the mirror); description of the mutilation; and date.

1. *CSE* BRD 1.36. Mannheim, Reiss-Museum. From Petrignano near Castiglione del Lago. Ivy border, Five-figure group of unidentified figures. Five gouging marks on obverse. Second half of the 5th century BCE.
2. *CSE* DDR 1.13. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Provenance unknown. Laurel wreath. Urphea, Turms and Pele with an Egg. Perforations from gouging two times on the obverse. 3rd century BCE.
3. *CSE* DDR 1.32. Berlin, Staatliche Museen. Said to be from the Polledrara necropolis at Vulci. Turms and Tuntle with an Egg. Gash on obverse and another on reverse, attributed to clumsy excavation. 4th century BCE.
4. *CSE* France 1.II.69. Paris, Musée du Louvre. Provenance unknown. No decoration. Pierced from the obverse by a large gash, attributed to the excavator. 3rd century BCE?
5. *CSE* France 1.III.2. Paris, Musée du Louvre. From Viterbo. Five-figure group with Hercle, Menrva, Hebe and two other figures. Gouged 5 times on the obverse side. Late 4th century BCE.
6. *CSE* Great Britain 3.21.Oxford, Ashmolean Museum. Provenance unknown, style of Vulci. Thesan in Flight. Folded. 470–460 BCE.
7. *CSE* Italia 1.I.3. Bologna, Museo Civico. Provenance unknown. Winged female spirit. Disc perforated from reverse with two holes, one quite small, another a little larger. First half of the 3rd century BCE.
8. *CSE* Italia 2.1.9. Perugia, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. Provenance unknown. Laurel Garland, Orestes, Pylades and Iphigenia. Handle folded back. First half of the 3rd century BCE.
9. *CSE* Italia 5.38. Viterbo, Museo Archeologico Nazionale. From Norchia. Tinascliniar in tunics. Struck with a blow in the middle of the obverse. First half of the 3rd century BCE.

10. *CSE* USA 2.44. Cambridge, Harvard University Museums. Provenance unknown. Spiky Garland. Three-figure group with Menrva. Gouged and perforated by ten holes. The stake or spike driven from the reverse. First half of the 3rd century BCE.
11. *CSE* USA 3.4. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art. Provenance unknown. Laurel wreath. Menrva with Tinascliniar and nude youth. The word *cracna*, perhaps a family name, is written across the lower part of the obverse. 3rd century BCE.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RITUAL DRESS[1]

Larissa Bonfante

Introduction

Evidence for Etruscan religious and ritual dress—archaeological, iconographical, and literary—cannot always be taken at face value. Our interpretations must take into account the conservative aspect of religious and ritual dress, the historical context of the literary evidence, the funerary or votive context of the archaeological evidence, and the accident of preservation of the organic material of the actual garments, most of which are lost forever. Then, too, names and meanings of various garments and costumes normally change over time, and what is considered ritual dress at one moment is often seen differently at another time. In the case of iconography, we cannot always be sure that the artist was depicting a garment that really existed, that our interpretation of a particular representation of a costume is correct, or that it had a ritual meaning for the Etruscans. The very fact that certain costumes were represented, however, means that they were important, that they had some meaning. In the end, then, we can distinguish certain special costumes and attributes of priests and priestesses, as well as costumes reserved for special ceremonies and situations.

The Iron Age, Villanovan Period

The dress worn during the Iron Age in Italy is difficult to identify from the monuments of this period, *c.* 1000–750 BCE (It is known as the Villanovan period, named for the site of Villanova, near Bologna, where it was first recognized). As in the Greek Geometric style, the way the figures are represented provides few details, and specific features are rendered in a shorthand version. But costumes and attributes from

[1] For Jean, whose spirit is as generous as her intellect is sharp.

this period had such a strong symbolic weight that we can often work back in time, and recognize certain costumes that were used in ritual ceremonies, and that maintained their sacred power in later times.

Furthermore, recent research and better excavation techniques have provided important new information about this early period of the history of the Etruscans, and of Italy. Two sites in particular have revolutionized our thinking: Tarquinia and the northern site of Verucchio, near Rimini, have provided material evidence concerning the ritual practices of the inhabitants of these towns. Detailed accounts of the material from the necropolis of Verucchio have been most recently published by Patrizia von Eles (1994, 2002). Finds of surprisingly well-preserved organic material from 8th century BCE tombs include great quantities of wooden furniture, amber, and preserved textiles and garments.

Most surprising was the discovery of remnants of two woolen mantles with rounded borders, the Etruscan *tebennas* which were the ancestors of the Roman togas, in the grave of an important man (Stauffer 2002, 192–234). These ritual garments and other objects placed in his tomb characterize the deceased as a warrior and priest. The rounded borders indicate that already in this early period the shape of the garments differed from those of the Greeks, which were always woven as square or rectangular pieces of cloth. It is particularly interesting to find these rounded mantles in the north, since a rounded mantle is also found among the surviving garments found in the northern peat bogs (Gerömsberg, Sweden: Bonfante 2003, 220, fig. 94); the form may ultimately derive from the rounded shape of animal skins. A number of remnants of textiles at Verucchio with a furry nap, imitating animal skins, seem to have been used for blankets or coverings rather than for garments, but their existence shows that there was the technical ability to produce such cloth (Stauffer 2002, 215).

Also preserved at Verucchio is a remarkable, full-size wooden throne decorated with scenes of wool working carved on its back in a miniature style. Two women, distinguished by their long braids, are shown weaving at a splendidly decorated loom. Two others, flanked by armed guards, are involved in a ritual scene. It is assumed that this seat of honor was made for a woman, since everywhere in Etruria, throughout this period, women's graves are characterized by wool working equipment—loom weights, spindles and distaffs—while men were provided with the armor and weapons that identified them as warriors. The importance of textiles for their economic and symbolic value is well

known. Elaborate textiles were objects of great value, gifts worthy of royalty (Barber 1992, 60 and *passim*). Archaeology has also revealed that important ladies or 'princesses' of Etruria and Latium were dressed for the grave in sumptuous jewelry, and in dresses covered with thousands of amber and glass beads. These may have been their wedding dresses, which they wore after death, rather than shrouds especially made for the funerary ritual.[2]

Male Ritual Dress

Thus from very early times, grave goods distinguished the gender of the deceased, just as their manner of dressing identified the living. These grave goods, like priestly dress, or the votive gifts given to the gods, acquired a special status: they had been transferred to another sphere of reality. In much the same way, the dress and attributes of these early aristocrats lived on in the religious rituals of their descendants. The title of the book on the finds at Verucchio, *Guerriero e Sacerdote*, 'Warrior and Priest', calls attention to the fact that the dress of warriors also identified them as priests. And indeed a number of the features of later Roman priestly dress hark back to military costumes and symbols of the aristocratic warrior class of the early days, such as the pointed helmets, and the draping of the mantle in the *cinctus Gabinus* of the Roman Salii (cf. Glinister in this volume). Traditional attributes of priests, like the curved ceremonial wand or *lituus*, illustrated on many monuments, also go back to very early times. The discovery of a folded-up *lituus*-shaped trumpet in a sacred context in the late 9th century BCE level of the excavation of the Pian di Civita at Tarquinia shows that this symbol, like the axe and shield placed with it, already held a religious, ritual meaning for the Etruscans.[3]

Etruscan priestly costume is illustrated on a number of monuments from the Archaic period and later. As in other cultures, the hat is the most distinctive costume, part of a uniform that marks out the individual who wears it as belonging to a particular group. Special garments represented in art usually have a special meaning, and this is especially

[2] The evidence, published in scattered publications, has recently been collected by Negroni Catacchio 2007.

[3] Bonghi Jovino 1987, 66–77, pls. XXIII–XXIX; Bonghi Jovino 2006, 1; de Grummond 2006a, 28–29, 36–38, figs. III.2, III.12–13.

true of the hat. The bronze group of the ploughman from Arezzo in the Villa Giulia Museum was once considered to be a genre piece, though clearly referring to the importance of the plough in Etruscan religion and ritual; the ploughman's hat was accordingly thought to be worn as a protection against the sun. Emeline Richardson long ago pointed out, however, that the hat marked him out as a priest performing a ritual action.[4] Another illustration of the priestly hat occurs on an Etruscan bronze mirror of around 300 BCE, showing a scene of divination (Fig. 49). A youth labeled *pavatarchies* wears a characteristic priestly hat with a twisted conical top, as he reads a liver before an attentive crowd. Standing beside him is an older man wearing a similar hat; his, however, is shown hanging from a strap around his neck (de Grummond 2006a, 30, fig. III. 4.).[5] A number of bronze statuettes of priests are also shown wearing the hat.[6]

On the Etruscan painted Boccanera plaques in the British Museum, Paris is depicted as a shepherd, wearing a similar soft pointed hat, while Hermes, bringing up the three goddesses to Paris for the contest, wears a kind of hat that becomes a traditional priestly garment, a helmet-like, wide-brimmed hat or *pileus* topped with a sharp spike, very like some of the early Villanovan spiked helmets.[7]

Fourth-century BCE bronze statuettes of Etruscan *haruspices* or priests wearing pointed hats also wear animal skin mantles prominently fastened in front with fibulas or pins of a type that were frequent in Villanovan times (Fig. 50).[8] That this was a primitive garment, originally worn in real life, is indicated by the fact that a very similar costume—pointed hat and fringed, animal skin mantle, pinned in front—is worn by a bronze statuette of a Greek shepherd from Arcadia (Bonfante 2003, 51, fig. 135). Other bronze statuettes of *haruspices* wear a complex type of hat that comes to a point on top, together with a mantle draped

[4] *C.* 400 BCE. Jannot 2005, 45, fig. 3.10: 'Scene of agriculture or of the foundation of a city?' Edlund-Berry 2006, 117, fig. VII.2. For the plough, Richardson 1964, 223, 239.

[5] The author accepts the theory according to which Tages, examining the liver, wearing the hat, is instructing Tarchon, whose hat hangs from his shoulder. "After he becomes fully adept in the art of haruspication, he may place the priest's hat firmly upon his head" (de Grummond 2006a, 27).

[6] Maggiani, 1989, 1557–63; Torelli 2000, 278–279, 592–593, Cat. Nos. 152–155. Bonfante 2003, 54–55; de Grummond 2006, 35–37, with previous literature.

[7] Villanovan helmet: Bonfante 1973, 587, figs. 1–2. Hat on Boccanera plaques: Bonfante 2003, 69.

[8] Bonfante 2003, 54, fig. 135; de Grummond 2006a, 35–37.

back to front, like the *laena* of the Roman *flamines* illustrated on the Ara Pacis Augustae.[9]

Both pinned mantles and pointed hats were attributes of the Roman priests, the *flamines*. On the Ara Pacis they wear the *laena*: this, a rounded garment like the toga, is draped with the end thrown in back so that the cloth forms a semicircle in front. This manner of draping it originates with an Etruscan fashion of wearing the rounded mantle, and is in turn the ancestor of the traditional cope of modern priests (Bonfante 1973, 594–595). According to one source the *flamines* were *infibulati* (Bonfante 2003, 54; Servius, *ad Aen.* 4, 262), that is, their garments were fastened with *fibulas*, large safety pins or brooches. These are not visible on the Roman monuments. A prehistoric origin for such ritual garments and accessories of Roman priests is not surprising. In fact the priestly hat that the *flamines* wear with the *laena*, the *galerus*, is a helmet-like head covering made of animal skins or leather. Its spike, or *apex*, which shows that they belong to the highest rank of Roman priesthoods, connects it to an early form of helmet rather than the softer, twisted shape of the hat of the *haruspex*.[10]

Similar hats are worn by the figures of priests reclining on the lids of the small ash urns, of alabaster, stone or terracotta, made in the inland cities of Chiusi, Volterra and Perugia in the Hellenistic period (Turfa 2005, 263–265; de Grummond 2006, 36 fig. 111.10). An especially moving hand-made urn shows a family scene, with the husband, evidently a priest in his lifetime, as shown by the pointed spike on his hat, bidding farewell to his wife and baby (Haynes 2000, 342 fig. 269). Some priests on the lids of urns are shown with their mantles pulled up over the heads, in the fashion of the later Roman ritual *capite velato*.

At this moment of their history, Etruscans and Romans share many religious and ritual symbols. This is true of the purple, highly decorated triumphal mantle worn by Vel Saties in the François Tomb of Vulci. It is not a *toga picta*, because it lacks the toga's rounded edges; it is the square *himation*, which may constitute a reference to his heroization after death (Bonfante 2003, 53). Roman men wore in public, and were usually portrayed in the rounded toga that was the Roman costume par excellence. They could however wear the Greek *himation* in private,

[9] Torelli 2000, 278–279, 592–593, Cat. Nos. 152–155: No. 154 is *infibulatus*, with the *fibula* clearly showing in back, according to the literary description of the costume of the Roman *flamines*.

[10] See note 7, above.

and were portrayed in it if they wanted to make a statement about their culture or personality. In Etruscan art, the rectangular *himation* and rounded *tebenna* seem to have had quite a different meaning: on the side of a sarcophagus from Vulci in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, the mantle with square corners worn by the deceased contrasts with the rounded *tebenna* of the (presumably live) musicians who accompany him on his journey to the underworld.

An Etruscan priest did not appear naked before the divinity, nor when making a libation or taking part in a sacrifice. He had the choice of wearing one of several garments designed to cover the male sex: appearing in Etruscan art are fitted short pants or *perizomata*, loincloths, and simple pieces of cloth draped around the body (Bonfante 2003, 19–29). Even a divinity was not exempt from covering his nakedness when taking part in a religious ritual: on a mirror showing Hercules and Minerva carrying out a sacrifice at an altar, Hercules has modestly draped his lion skin around his loins.[11] Other images show him wearing a rectangular garment wrapped around his waist like an apron. This costume, clearly meant for ritual, religious occasions, is found on a number of Etruscan statuettes, and is the ancestor of the Roman apron-like *limus*.[12] The handsomest example of a figure wearing such a garment is the bronze statuette from Monte Guragazza in Bologna, dating from the early 5th century BCE (Fig. 51). A cloth with finely decorated rounded borders is wrapped around his waist and left forearm, and covers his legs down to his knees. He is making a libation to the god with the *patera* in his right hand, while his other hand is held out in a gesture of worship (Bonfante 2003, 50 fig. 123).

Female Ritual Dress

A peculiarly Etruscan feature of a representation of the draped apron-like garment occurs on the handle of a 4th century BCE Praenestine cista depicting a couple carrying off the body of a dead warrior. Both

[11] Bonfante 2003, 182–183, fig. 86. Numerous bronze statuettes show Hercle wearing his lion skin around his loins: Richardson 1983, 'kilted Herakles', 343–344, figs. 811–814: "This type seems to be an Etruscan creation". Bonfante 2003, fig. 45.

[12] Bonfante 2003. See also a figure who looks like a Roman *popa* or sacrificer on a Praenestine cista in Berlin: Bonfante 1973, 597–598, fig. 13. Bordenache-Emiliozzi 1979, 56–61.

the man and the woman wear it wrapped around their hips. The man has a bare torso; the woman wears it on top of her chiton, which is provided with the tassels that mark the high rank of Etruscan women in the 5th and 4th centuries BCE. This parallel way of dressing for the couple of man and woman is unique, though not surprising in the context of Etruscan society, and of the closely related Praenestine art. Just as unique is the subject of the group, in which a man and a woman carry off the corpse, rather than two men, or the two mythological male figures of Death and Sleep (Fig. 52).[13]

The lid of a full-size Etruscan sarcophagus in the British Museum, dating from a somewhat later period, shows a priestess of Dionysos with the attributes of a follower of the god: an ivy-topped *thyrsus*, a two-handled cup or *kantharos*, and a fawn at her side (Fig. 53). She is barefoot, richly attired with jewelry and headdress, and from her shoulder hangs the braid or tassel worn by goddesses and elite women of a previous generation (de Grummond 2006, 38–39, fig. III.14. For the tassel, Bonfante 2003, 39). The *kantharos*, a typically Etruscan shape of bucchero cup, was widely exported all over the Mediterranean in the 7th and 6th centuries BCE, and had become a standard attribute of the god Dionysos in Greek iconography.

The costume of Roman priestesses, like that of the priests, preserved features of earlier fashions. The dress and hairstyle of the important Roman public priesthood of the Vestal Virgins resembled the ritual dress of brides. Both wore a special hairstyle derived from an Archaic Etruscan hairstyle, the *tutulus*. Although the word was sometimes used to refer to a melon-shaped hat, it is clear from the descriptions of the antiquarians that it was in fact a sort of *chignon* made up of braids or strands of hair. A number of Etruscan bronze statuettes of women from the Archaic period clearly illustrate this hairstyle, while others show the outline of this high hairstyle covered by a mantle.[14] This *tutulus* style survived in Roman times as the *sex crines* hairstyle, worn by the women of the aristocracy in their sacred functions as priestesses and as brides on their wedding day, as a good omen and symbol of chastity.

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[13] Bonfante 2003, figs. 87–88. Bordenache-Emiliozzi 1990, no. 111, 351–352, pl. 188, fig. 111. Bonfante 2006, 34–35, pl. 10, fig. 6. Tassel: Richardson 1964, 134, 145; Bonfante 2003, 39.

[14] Bonfante 1973, 506, fig. 8; 2003, 75–76, fig. 130–131. Varro, *LL* 7.44.

Conclusions

We have seen that by using a variety of evidence we can reconstruct some of the Etruscan ritual garments that marked out their status as priests and priestesses, as well as some of their special ceremonies, such as weddings and funerary rituals. We have also seen that a number of features of the ritual dress of later Roman priests and priestesses—Salii, *flamines, flaminica*, Vestal Virgins and others—preserved aspects of earlier garments illustrated on artistic monuments from Etruria. This kind of evidence allows us to work back, and reconstruct the appearance and some of the history of certain Etruscan ritual costumes. Although we cannot always be sure that what was ritual dress for the Romans was equally meaningful for the Etruscans, the importance of this symbolic dress caused it to be remembered by Roman poets and antiquarians, to be illustrated in Etruscan and Roman art, and to be placed in the graves of important Etruscan priests, warriors, 'princes' and 'princesses', and in the sanctuaries of the gods their rituals celebrated.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

VEILED AND UNVEILED: UNCOVERING ROMAN INFLUENCE IN HELLENISTIC ITALY[1]

Fay Glinister

Many of the terracotta votives so characteristic of sanctuaries in Central Italy during the Hellenistic period represent worshippers. Statuettes, busts, heads and half-heads portrayed wearing a veil are assumed to symbolise the Roman custom of sacrificing with head covered.[2] They are therefore widely considered to be proof of the influence of Roman religion on non-Roman ritual traditions, and of the presence of Romans, often in the context of colonisation: "proprio l'uso delle teste votive *capite velato* contraddistinguesse le colonie romane".[3] Elsewhere I have cautioned against the unhesitating acceptance of votive terracottas as evidence of colonisation and Romanisation (Glinister 2006a, 2006b; cf. Gentili 2006). Here, I wish to question the extent to which veiled-head votives, and indeed the veiled sacrifice itself, represent uniquely Roman forms of ritual, and to suggest an alternative reading.

The tradition of offering heads as votives is thought to originate in the Veientine and Faliscan areas, where they are found from the 5th century BCE. Heads of the same date are also found at Teanum in Campania, and explained by close Etrusco-Campanian relations at that period. From the end of the 5th century BCE they are also attested at Lavinium in Latium, but they do not appear widely across the Etrusco-Latial-Campanian area until the mid 4th century BCE. It is from the

[1] I first became interested in Hellenistic votive offerings from reading Jean Turfa's work on terracottas in healing cults, and quickly came to appreciate the sanity and clear-headedness of her approach to this material, as well as her immense store of knowledge. Subsequently, Jean has provided me with previews of her work, not to mention cat toys; I am grateful for both kindnesses. Thanks also to Robert Coates-Stephens for a crucial offprint.

[2] *E.g.* Comella 1982, 33; Söderlind 2002, 381. This is the primary interpretation of veiled-head terracottas, although Fenelli 1989–90, 498 suggested that veiled statues of females from Lavinium could be connected with marriage or matronal status.

[3] Pensabene 2001, 75 (discussing votives from Piazza Ungheria at Praeneste); cf. Pensabene 1979, 218.

end of the 4th century BCE that the veil becomes a regular feature of votives in Rome, Latium and (some) colonies. Between the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE (when their distribution peaks) veiled heads are found throughout Central Italy. Their spread is commonly attributed to the expansion of Roman power after the conquest of Veii.[4]

The idea that the spread of veiled votive heads symbolises the Romanisation of local ritual practices originates from the observation of Pensabene that veiled heads are commonest at Rome and in territory controlled by Rome, while unveiled heads predominate in southern Etruria and Campania.[5] Subsequently scholars have tended to approach the material in the dogmatic belief that this distribution pattern points to markedly different religious traditions: a veiled-head votive indicating sacrifice according to the so-called *Romanus ritus* ('Roman rite'), an unveiled votive indicating (within Etruria) sacrifice following a bare-headed Etruscan rite. There are two further assumptions. One, that most of the peoples of Italy, except for the Romans, sacrificed bare-headed.[6] The other, that the unveiled ritual can be termed *Graecus ritus* ('Greek rite').

So these are my questions: is the veiled sacrifice really exclusive to Rome? How do the other peoples of Italy sacrifice? Does the progressive dissemination of veiled heads demonstrate the superimposition of a Roman over an Etruscan sacrificial tradition? Do the Etruscans really sacrifice 'Greek-style'? And do pots (or, here, votives) equal people? It will become clear, I hope, how an apparently quite trivial point—whether people covered their heads while sacrificing—encompasses questions of identity, Romanisation, and acculturation.

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[4] *E.g.* Pensabene 1979, 219; more recently Piraino 2003, 82; Comella 2004, 336.

[5] Pensabene 1979, 218–19; followed by Comella 1982, 32–33; Söderlind 2002, 369–370, *etc*. Pensabene and Comella are rather careful in their conclusions and aware of the fragmentary nature of the evidence: surviving votives represent a tiny fraction of what must once have existed. Many are sporadic finds; others come from deposits whose contexts went unrecorded, and whose contents have been largely lost or dispersed.

[6] *Contra*, however, Ampolo 1992, 340: "romani (ed italici) sacrificavano generalmente *capite velato*". Note also Pensabene 1979, 218, who comments that the Roman rite "non era circoscritto solo a Roma, ma doveva essere una tradizione comune nel territorio latino e di essa un'eco ci è giunta nell'immagine tradizionale di Enea sacrificante con il *capo velato*". On Aeneas, see below.

I. *The Literary Evidence*

Veiling at Rome

Despite the near-ubiquity of terracotta votives in Italy, not a single ancient author or epigraphic text informs us about the meaning these votive heads had for their dedicants, or the rituals surrounding their deposition. On the other hand, there is abundant literary evidence for the custom of veiling at Rome (see Freier 1963). Typically, sacrifice was performed with a flap of the toga pulled over the head (*e.g.* Plut., *QR* 10). We know from Varro and Festus that both men and women sacrificed veiled,[7] but iconographic material shows that only the person sacrificing covered his or her head; other participants or onlookers might be crowned with a wreath, or entirely bare-headed.

The veil was employed on various occasions. Cicero refers to its use in a rite for the consecration of property (*Dom.* 124). The fetial procedure by which Rome declared war (supposedly copied from the Aequiculi), was undertaken *capite velato* (Livy 1.32.5–6; cf. Dion. Hal. 2.72.2).[8] The sister-killer Horatius was expiated of his bloody crime by passing under a yoke with head veiled (Livy 1.26.13). The *devotio*, a rare form of voluntary human sacrifice, was performed with head covered (Cic., *Nat.* 2.10, *etc.*), while both Pompey and Caesar, when their murderers approached, are said to have veiled their heads, an act interpreted by Perea as symbolising their self-sacrifice (Perea 1998). The murder of Tiberius Gracchus occurred after the Senate met at the Temple of Fides (in sacrifices to whom the *flamines* had to veil their arms: Livy 1.21.4, Serv., *Aen.* 1.292); we are told that their leader, the *pontifex maximus* Scipio Nasica, covered his head with his toga, while the senators wrapped their togas about their left arms (Plut., *Ti. Gracc.* 19.3–4; Appian, *BC* 1.16). In the *ver sacrum* (sacred spring) the heads of children were veiled to mark a vow to sacrifice all living beings born that spring (Paul. Fest. 519.31L). If a Vestal lost her virginity, she was buried alive, completely veiled (Plut., *Numa* 10.7). A bride's head was veiled in the regular form of marriage (Paul. Fest. 56.1L), while in the

[7] Varro, *LL* 5.130, Festus 142.20L (with Paul) on the rite of Mutinus Titinus, to whom women customarily sacrificed while veiled and wearing the *toga praetexta*. Ryberg 1955 is the starting point for iconographical evidence, which is widespread.

[8] See *e.g.* Penella 1987. Note that *capite velato* is not a specifically religious term, as shown *e.g.* by Apul., *Met.* 1.7.

archaic patrician kind (*confarreatio*) both bride *and* groom were veiled.[9] The term 'nuptials' was even derived by grammarians from *obnubit*, 'covers the head' (Paul. Fest. 201.4L). Plautus (*Amph.* 1091) tells us that women going into labour invoked the gods *capite aperto*, for prayers were also said veiled (cf. Ovid, *Fasti* 3.363). In emulation of such veneration, the canny *eques* Vitellius approached Caligula veiled, flattering the emperor's delusions of godhead.[10]

And, of course, priests veiled too. From Livy's account of the inauguration of Numa we know that augurs acted *capite velato*.[11] The Comitium housed an archaic statue of the augur Attus Navius in action, head veiled, suggesting that the custom was an early one. Other evidence shows that head coverings in general were important to Roman religious specialists from early on.[12] State priests had particular forms of headgear, for which there were a range of technical terms. So characteristic was the *apex* (spiked skull-cap draped with a woollen fillet) of the *flamines* that grammarians even derived their name from its *filum* (Paul. Fest. 77.28L).[13] The *flamen Dialis* could not leave home unless wearing his *albogalerus* (Gell., *NA* 10.15.17), which meant, among other things, that he was unable to participate in Saturn's unveiled sacrifice. The Vestals wore the *suffibulum* when they sacrificed, the *flaminicae* wore veils with names such as *rica* and *ricinia*. When the *flaminica Dialis* put on her flame-coloured veil, she was described as *cincta* (usually meaning 'girded': Paul. Fest. 82.6L, 57.3L).

Cinctus was also the term applied to the form of dress supposedly specific to Roman sacrifice, the *cinctus Gabinus*, a way of draping the toga so that part was wound round the waist and tied in front of the body (leaving the left arm free), and part covered the head.[14] It was

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[9] Serv., *Aen.* 4.374. See Linderski 2005, 233, n. 19.

[10] Suet., *Vitel.* 2.5; contrast Plut., *QR* 10, who reports that Romans ordinarily honoured men by *un*veiling.

[11] Livy 1.18.6–10, 1.36.5, 10.7.10; Plut., *Numa* 7.2; Dion. Hal. 3.71.5; Frier 1963, 77–83. The augur from the Lapis Niger votive deposit at Rome (Antiquarium Forense, Rome, inv. 885, *c.* 550 BCE) is unveiled, as are Etruscan examples, but our sources make it clear that the veil is assumed only at the point of action.

[12] Roofed and unroofed structures also held technical importance in Roman religious contexts. Some gods had to be worshipped out of doors, or, if indoors, under an opening in the roof (*e.g.* Terminus: Ovid, *Fasti* 2.671–72). Certain things could not be covered: *sacella* were always unroofed, according to Festus 422.15L.

[13] Note that Etruscan priests are also portrayed wearing an *apex*, suggesting the importance of headcovering in that context also. See Maggiani 1989.

[14] Cato, *Origines* 1.18aC; Serv., *Aen.* 7.712; Isid., *Etym.* 19.24.7. See Wilson 1924, 86–88. Also see Bonfante in this volume.

worn, famously, by Fabius Dorsuo as he walked through the lines of Gauls besieging the Capitol in 390 BCE to carry out a gentilicial sacrifice (Livy 5.46.1–3, Val. Max. 1.1.11), and by Decius Mus when he devoted himself in order to secure a victory in 340 BCE (Livy 8.9.5, 9; 10.7.3). Dressed in this manner the consul formally declared war, while an army set for battle was described as *procincta classis*.[15] The Roman people seem to have worn the *cinctus Gabinus* during purificatory rites—on the instructions of an Etruscan *vates* according to Lucan (*BC* 1.584–638). This form of dress took its name from Gabii, a Latin town taken over by Rome during the archaic period.[16] If the style of dress really could be connected to the town, it would show that Latins as well as Romans sacrificed veiled, but at the very least, the implication is that the Romans *believed* that the Gabines did so.[17]

But it must be remembered that Romans did not always veil to sacrifice. In a forthcoming work, Valérie Huet shows that in some sacrifices by the Roman rite, notably those undertaken by soldiers, the head remained uncovered.[18] Paulus Festus 4.1L may imply a female *unveiled* sacrifice when he says that *armita* was the word for a (Vestal?) virgin sacrificing, "with the flap of her toga flung back over her shoulder" (*lacinia togae in humerum erat reiecta*). And, as is well known, Romans sacrificed unveiled on many occasions according to the so-called *Graecus ritus* (below).

Modern scholars use *Romanus ritus* to mean the 'typically Roman' veiled sacrifice, but this is a rare antique term, and probably not strictly technical.[19] There is almost no direct reference to the custom of veiling at sacrifice in which the term is used. Gellius (*NA* 13.23.1) merely mentions that prayers "offered according to the Roman ritual" are recorded in ancient priestly books. Varro is the only author to connect the term with veiled sacrifice, noting that *rica* (veil) is derived from *ritus*, "because

[15] Virgil, *Aen*. 7.612; Holland 1961, 64; Paul. Fest. 251.19L.

[16] See Cressedi 1950; Palmer 1970, 138–140, 180–81; Catalano 1978, 494ff.

[17] There is in any case good evidence that the Latins also traditionally sacrificed veiled. Not only did the Latins share Roman institutions, such as the Vestals, Salii and *flamines*, but the existence of federal shrines offers a strong argument for shared sacrificial rites. Amongst other evidence, we also have Livy's report of the Praenestine survivor of Hannibal's siege of Casilinum (216 BCE) who set up a statue, head covered, with an inscription that he had paid his vow on behalf of the garrison there (23.19.18).

[18] See Huet (forthcoming); Prescendi 2004a, 193–94.

[19] Examples: Varro, *LL* 7.88; Cic., *De Nat. Deor.* 3.51; Livy 1.35.5; Serv., *Aen*. 6.255, 6.624, 10.216, 12.120, *SHA M. Aurelius Antoninus* 13.3.

according to the Roman rite, when women perform a sacrifice, they veil their heads"—a thinly-veiled etymology.[20]

The aetiology of the veiled sacrifice

According to Roman tradition, sacrifice was performed with head veiled to avoid the sight of a non-relevant incident, for a sacrificer should be "untroubled, unscathed, and undistracted" (Plut., *QR* 73).[21] Aeneas was regarded as the *auctor* of this custom. Sacrificing upon arrival in Italy, he glimpsed the approach of a *hostis* (originally meaning 'foreigner' rather than 'enemy').[22] That he might complete the ritual without interruption, Aeneas drew his toga over his head, a practice followed ever after.

The story was circulating widely during the first centuries BCE/CE. The source for the *Origo Gentis Romanae* seems to be Octavius Hersennius, author of *De Sacris Saliaribus Tiburtium* (probably late Republican); that for Macrobius is Gavius Bassus, probably writing in the Ciceronian period (*Sat.* 3.6.17). Versions appear in Virgil (*Aen.* 3.403–409; cf. Serv., *Aen.* 8.288), Dionysius of Halicarnassus (a source for Plutarch), Strabo, and Festus (following Verrius Flaccus).[23] A panel on the Ara Pacis may also celebrate Aeneas as *auctor* of the *Romanus ritus* (Ampolo 1992, 340).

The deity and location (never Rome) vary from author to author, but in all the act of veiling remains standard, and Aeneas faces a Greek *hostis*. The context is Greek versus Trojan, as the earliest form of sacrificial rite at Rome was thought to be 'Greek' (see below), but there is no hint that here 'Greek' implies 'Etruscan'. No specific contrast is ever

[20] Varro, *LL* 5.130: *Sic rica ab ritu, quod Romano ritu sacrificium feminae cum faciunt, capita velant*. The *rica* is described by Festus 342.27 and 368.3L as the headdress of the *flaminicae*. Cf. Flemming 2007.

[21] A similar deliberate obliviousness occurs in the augural procedure: Cic., *De Div.* 2.71–72.

[22] Paul. Fest. 91.7L. In certain rites (we do not know which) the lictor proclaimed: "*hostis, vinctus, mulier, virgo exesto*" ("away with the *hostis*, prisoner, woman, girl!"), prohibiting their presence (Paul. Fest. 72.10L). Aeneas' *hostis* was either Diomedes (*e.g.* Plut., *QR* 10, Serv., *Aen.* 3.407) or Ulysses (Festus 430.30L, *OGR* 12.2); Dion. Hal. 12.22 mentions both. In 5th century BCE authors Ulysses is actually paired with Aeneas: according to Hellanicus (*FGrH* 4 F 84) and Demastes of Sigeion (*FGrH* 5 F 3) they founded Rome together, a story elaborated by other Greeks, including Lycophron (*Alex.* 1238ff.). Hesiod, *Theog.* 1011–13, makes him the father of Latinus.

[23] Strabo 5.3.5 describes the Latin federal shrines of Aphrodite at Lavinium and Ardea, famous for their connection with Aeneas, "and because of those rites which, it is said, have been handed down from those times". In Festus, Aeneas sacrifices to Venus on the Lavinian shoreline, suggesting a connection with the Latin Aphrodision: Ampolo 1992, 338–39.

made with Etruscan forms of sacrifice, nor are Etruscans identified with Greeks in this context. Livy, who does not name Aeneas as founder of the *Romanus ritus*, implicitly stresses its ultimately Latino-Trojan pedigree by using the rare phrase *Albanus ritus* for the rites established by Romulus—excluding, and specifically contrasted with, the *Graecus ritus* of Hercules.[24]

All in all, a powerful group of sources on the origins of the *Romanus ritus* points to a strong distinction between Italian and Greek (not Etruscan) custom. Varro's surviving fragments do not include the story of Aeneas' sacrifice, but in speaking of the *flamines* he too makes it clear that the practice of veiling was not narrowly Roman (*LL* 5.84: *flamines, quod in Latio capite velato erant semper ac caput cinctum habebant filo, filamines dicti*, "…because in Latium the *flamines* always kept their heads covered…"). In our other sources, Aeneas is the founder of Latin rather than Roman culture, and of a rite that is Italic rather than uniquely Roman (Ampolo 1992). The veiled sacrifice is not seen as an autochthonous, indelibly Roman custom. Rather, it predates the foundation of Rome, is *later* than the unveiled rite, and, like so many of Rome's religious customs, is at least notionally of foreign origin.[25]

In Festus, sacrifice *capite velato*, and the fear of interruption it symbolises, are common to the Italians. His comment that "following the example of Aeneas the *Italici* veil their heads" (430.30L) cannot be taken to mean Romans alone, for in his lexicon *Italici* always refers to the peoples of Italy. It is used of the Tusculans and Faliscans (304.33L) and sometimes excludes the Romans (486.32L; cf. Cic., *Phil.* 8.3). As it happens, while not much is known from archaeological or iconographical material about how the peoples of Italy dressed or acted

[24] Livy 1.7.3. The only other use of the term occurs in Livy 1.31.1–4, where, after the destruction of Alba Longa, a mysterious voice commands the Albans to celebrate neglected sacrifices according to their ancestral rites.

[25] The tradition that veiled sacrifice was later than the unveiled rite may tie in with the fact that many of the earliest votive heads are unveiled (Comella 2004: 337). A general trend from unveiled to veiled is exemplified by heads from Veii and Praeneste (*e.g.* Pensabene 2001, 69, nos. 126, 127), although it is difficult to be precise as the absolute chronology of the votives remains problematic; stylistic criteria are still an important means of dating. The pattern is usually attributed to the spread of the Roman rite, but may indicate wider general developments in cult not directly attributable to Rome or to its colonies (although no one would deny that colonisation had a role to play, by fostering interactions and cultural change). Perhaps the veiled sacrifice was adopted as an assertion of Italian in opposition to Greek identity, as suggested by the Aeneas myth.

during sacrifice, the fact that they shared certain sacred practices is confirmed by parallels in Roman and Italic ritual, such as the use of *strues* and *ferta* (offerings, probably cakes), attested at Rome (*e.g.* Gell., *NA* 10.15.14) and in the Iguvine Tables (*e.g.* IIa 18). Importantly, the *instauratio* (the restaging of rites interrupted as a result of an error or bad omen), common practice at Rome during the Republic, also occurs in the Iguvine Tables.[26] If the concept of non-interruption of a ceremony was a concern of Umbrians as well as Romans, that may well point to the wider use of the veil during sacrifice.

The Graecus ritus

As we have seen, a significant and varied body of evidence confirms the Roman custom of sacrificing veiled on many, but by no means all, occasions. The form of sacrifice contrasted with the 'Roman rite' is the *Graecus ritus*, carried out unveiled (*aperto capite*), as was the norm in the Greek world.[27] It was customary at Rome for Saturn, Hercules, Apollo, Honos, and Ceres. Again a relatively rare term (although there are epigraphic attestations too), it first appears in a fragmentary speech of Cato (*Orat.* 77M = 64C: *Graeco ritu fiebantur Saturnalia*). The term itself may not be particularly old (perhaps not earlier than the 3rd century BCE), but the Romans certainly believed that the origins of the rite were incredibly ancient. The cult of Saturn was explained as being *Graeco ritu* because the god was worshipped in Italy long before Aeneas introduced the veiled sacrifice.[28] Saturn was thought to have come from Greece to found the earliest settlement on the site of Rome, but the god we know was not Greek, but Latin; Versnel plausibly interprets the bare-headed rite as specific to his nature as a god of dissolution.[29]

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[26] *E.g.* Livy 23.30.16–17, 41.16.1–2; Iguvine Tables IIa 1–15, *etc*. Abaecherli Boyce 1937, 165. Cf. Bloch 1963 and Pfiffig 1964, 113–15 on other striking Romano-Umbrian ritual parallels.

[27] Greeks typically sacrificed bare-headed except for a wreath. However Pausanius 6.20.2–3 describes a sanctuary of Eileithyia and Sosipolis on Mount Cronios, where the only person who could enter the latter's inner sanctum was a priestess, veiled. Llewellyn-Jones 2003 sees veiling as common for Greek women in a domestic context.

[28] Varro, *LL* 5.42; Virgil, *Aen*. 8.358; Ovid, *Fasti* 6.31; Pliny, *NH* 3.68; Plut., *QR* 11; Macrob., *Sat*. 1.8.2, 3.6.17; Serv., *Aen*. 3.407. See also Paul. Fest. 106.19L and Festus 462.29L, recording a dispute between the *pontifex maximus* and a man who refused a priesthood (which, as we saw, involved wearing special headgear) because of claimed family obligations to sacrifice unveiled to Saturn.

[29] Comella 1982, 33–34 (following Pensabene 1979, 218 and Latte 1960, 137) regards Saturn as Etruscan. For extended discussion, see Versnel 1992, 136–227, esp. 138; cf. Scheid 1995, 24.

Although it may be older, Saturn's special rite cannot certainly be traced further back than Cato, whose comment only proves that *part* of the cult, at the Saturnalia, was carried out bare-headed (Palmer 1996; Scheid 1995, 24–25).

Some authors connect Hercules with Saturn's settlement, probably because he too was worshipped *Graeco ritu* (Varro, *LL* 5.45; cf. Varro ap. Macr., *Sat.* 1.8.2; Livy 1.7). Hercules' cult at the Ara Maxima was supposedly performed unveiled because the shrine was founded by the Greek Evander long before Aeneas' day, although Macrobius also notes that it was to prevent worshippers copying the appearance of the (veiled) cult statue.[30] "Of all foreign rites, this was the only one which Romulus adopted", according to Livy, who contrasts the Greek rite of Hercules with the 'Alban' rites established by Romulus for all other deities.[31]

Honos' unveiled worship is a puzzle to Plutarch (*QR* 13), but connections with the myth of Evander and Hercules may help explain it. Evander's mother, the prophetess Carmenta, was one of the Camenae, spring deities identified with the Muses.[32] Honos must have had something to do with them, for their bronze shrine was temporarily housed in his temple by the Porta Capena before being placed in the *aedes* of Hercules and the Muses, founded in 187 BCE (Serv., *Aen.* 1.8). Hercules and Honos both appear on a denarius struck in 102 BCE by the Marian legate Cornelius Lentulus, and Marius himself built a temple of Honos and Virtus at this time.[33] A few decades later, in 70 BCE, Q. Fufius Calenus issued a denarius with Honos (wreathed) and Virtus on the obverse; on the reverse Roma, her foot resting on a globe, claps the hand of Italia, bearing a cornucopia, an attribute of Honos. The

[30] *E.g.* Gavius Bassus ap. Macr., *Sat.* 3.6.17. Hercules' unveiled sacrifice was interpreted by the late 2nd century BCE Roman historian L. Coelius Antipater as proof that Rome was founded by Greeks (Strabo 5.3.3). Veiled statue: Macr., *Sat.* 3.6.17; cf. Serv., *Aen.* 3.407, 8.288.

[31] Livy 1.7.15: *haec tum sacra Romulus una ex omnibus peregrina suscepit*; 1.7.3: *dis aliis Albano ritu, Graeco Herculi, ut ab Evandro instituta erant, facit.*

[32] Livy 1.7.8; Dion. Hal. 1.32.2; Virg., *Aen.* 8.336; Strabo 5.3.3. According to Dionysius 1.31, she was the one who advised the Arcadians to settle on the Palatine hill. Saturn, praised in the archaic Salian Hymns, may also be connected with the Camenae.

[33] Festus 466.36L. Richardson 1978, 245; Crawford identifies the figures on the obverse as Genius and Roma, not Honos and Virtus (Crawford 1974, no. 329, pl. 42.1b).

imagery symbolised "Italian unity" following the Social War.[34] Was it also an allusion to shared ritual practices?

It is uncertain if the Greek elements in the cult of Hercules were archaic, or the result of late 3rd century BCE Hellenisation. The latter seems to be the case for Apollo (worshipped by the Greek rite following a prophecy of the seer Marcius in 212 BCE: Livy 25.12.2–15; cf. Macr., *Sat.* 1.17.28–30) and for Ceres. In her sanctuary this goddess was worshipped *Graeco ritu*, on some but not all occasions, by priestesses imported from Magna Graecia (Cic., *Balb.* 55; Scheid 1995: 23–24).

Of the many Greek deities at Rome, only Hercules and Apollo are known to have been paid cult regularly with head bare. Others, equally Greek, were worshipped 'Roman-style', from Castor, whose cult dates back to the archaic period, to Aesculapius, imported in response to a plague in 291 BCE (Plaut., *Curc.* 389). However the Sibylline books (supposedly from Magna Graecia) sometimes recommended Greek rituals, and deities could be worshipped according to the Greek rite at *lectisternia* and supplications. This is attested specifically during the *ludi saeculares*—to which, be it noted, an Etruscan origin is sometimes attributed.[35] But as Scheid points out, apart from the fact that the priests acted *aperto capite* and wore the laurel wreath typical of the Greek act, sacrifices *Graeco ritu* hardly differ from those by the Roman rite. Importantly, there is no suggestion of "different religious feeling" in these rites (Scheid 1995, 26–28). In practice the *Graecus ritus* was merely a mode of performing a ceremony, little different to the *Romanus ritus* (note especially Dion. Hal. 7.72.14–18), and just as integral a part of Roman Republican religion.[36]

The ritus Etruscus *and Etruscan influence on Rome*

The evidence for Etruscan sacrificial practices is scanty and inconclusive. Pictorial representations in Etruscan art are astonishingly few, given the enormous quantity of surviving iconographic material, as well as the reputation of the Etruscans as a people dedicated to the practice

[34] Crawford 1974, no. 403, pl. 50.7; Richardson 1978, 245–46.

[35] The *ludi saeculares* are known from inscriptions of 17 BCE and 204 CE: Pighi 1965. For their connection with the Etruscan *saecula*, see Hall, who regards their institution as occurring under Etruscan influence (Hall 1986, esp. 2573).

[36] Scheid 1995, 19. Festus 364.34L and Serv., *Aen.* 12.836 explain *ritus* as a *mos conprobatus* (sanctioned custom) *in administrandis sacrificiis*.

of religion.[37] Comella provides a handful of examples of relevant ritual scenes, largely pre-dating the phase when votive heads were commonly offered, a period for which there is little comparable Roman or Italic iconographical material (the picture seems hardly altered by the publication of *ThesCRA*).[38] She concludes that "è probabile…che gli Etruschi sacrificassero *aperto capite*, secondo il rito greco" (Comella 1982, 33). Indeed, the assumption that Etruscans sacrificed unveiled is regularly associated with the idea that this followed Greek custom. Pautasso expresses the idea forcefully: unveiled heads "riflettono la tradizione greca del sacrificio *aperto capite*, assimilata nel mondo etrusco".[39] But there is no reason to assume Greek influence as the basis for the unveiled sacrifice in Etruria, and it is certainly a step too far to label such a practice with the Roman term *Graecus ritus*.

Varro is the only source to draw a direct contrast between the two rites, Greek and Roman, when he mentions that "the *haruspex* directs the making of each sacrifice in its own *ritus*, and we say that the Board of Fifteen conduct ceremonies in the Greek *ritus*, not the Roman one".[40] It is only in Varro, too, that we find the term *ritus Etruscus*, and only in connection with the ritual ploughing by which cities (including Rome) were founded, part of Tages' *Etrusca disciplina*.[41] At first sight the foundation ritual has nothing to do with sacrifice, yet the founder wore the *cinctus Gabinus*—that is, he was veiled. A Roman ritual, performed in a

[37] Franchi 1965: 304: "nell'arte etrusca non si incontra nessuna rappresentazione di pompa sacrificiale o teoforica"; Livy 5.1.5. Etruscans did certainly veil on some ritual occasions, as shown by scenes of mourning (*prothesis*) on cippi and plaques, *e.g.* from Clusium, *c.* 490 BCE (Louvre inv. MA 3602). See D'Agostino 1989.

[38] Comella 1982, 33 notes a 5th century BCE Etruscan black figure vase (Richter 1940, 38, fig. 111) and a late 5th–early 4th century BCE Etruscan *sovradipinto* volute crater (Trendall 1955, 260, Z64, pl. LXVI:a); cf. Donati and Rafanelli, *ThesCRA* 1 2004, 135–82; the discussion in *ThesCRA* of Etruscan sacrificial costume refers largely to Greek and Roman sacrificial dress, theory and terminology. Valérie Huet informs me that out of *c.* 150 reliefs of sacrificial scenes from Rome and Italy, around one third show the sacrificer without a veil. The earliest (on the base of Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Louvre MA 975; Torelli 1982) dates to *c.* 105 BCE, by which period the custom of dedicating votive heads had largely petered out.

[39] Pautasso 1994, 23; cf. Söderlind 2002, 374; Söderlind 2006, 362; Bouma 1996, 293.

[40] Varro, *LL* 7.88: [*ritus*], *id est eius instituto, ut cum haruspex praecipit ut suo quisque ritu sacrificium faciat, et nos dicimus XV viros Graeco ritu sacra, non Romano facere.*

[41] Varro, *LL* 5.143: *oppida condebant in Latio Etrusco ritu multi*; cf. Plut., *Rom.* 11; Festus 358.21L, 492.6L; Ovid, *Met.* 15.553–59. On Tages see now Turfa 2006, 80–81. The standard work is Thulin 1906.

costume named after a Latin town, following Etruscan sacred lore: a perfect example of the blending of Italian religious traditions.[42]

Indeed, many elements of Roman religion were ascribed to Etruscan influence, like the *laena*, a 'double toga' (whether extra-thick, or really two togas worn together, is uncertain) worn by the Roman *flamines* while sacrificing.[43] Augurs (who covered their heads while operating!) wore the *toga praetexta*, to which Pliny ascribed an Etruscan origin,[44] and were themselves supposedly of Etruscan origin, as too the *haruspices*, specialists in prodigies regularly consulted by the Senate.[45]

Not only did Rome regularly call upon such Etruscan priests for advice, and use (or believed it used) Etruscan lore and rituals, but in 390 BCE, at a time of utmost danger, it even sent its holiest objects to an Etruscan city. At Caere the *sacra* were "received with the greatest reverence" (*cum summa veneratione recepta*: Val. Max. 1.1.10). Rituals at the heart of Roman religion were carried on uninterruptedly at Caere itself, by Roman priests, with the willing assistance of the Caeretans.[46] Stories like this presuppose common Etrusco-Roman religious conceptions and sensibilities.

II. *The Archaeological Material Re-examined*

As we have seen, the consensus of opinion is that veiled heads dominate sanctuaries in a Roman, Latin or colonial milieu; by contrast in Campania the majority of votive heads are unveiled, and in Etruria a distinctive 'Greek' tradition of unveiled sacrifice continues down to a

[42] Lucan's purificatory procession (*BC* 1.584–638) also connects the sacred boundary of a city with Gabine dress and with Etruscan ritual.

[43] Cic., *Brut.* 56; Serv., *Aen.* 4.262; Paul. Fest. 104.18L. Note also the statue of Servius Tullius hidden beneath togas (pl.): *sed superiniectis quis latet iste togis* (Ovid, *Fasti* 6.570). The *laena* appears on the Ara Pietatis (Kleiner 1971) and elsewhere; see Samter 1909, 2484–92.

[44] *Lex Col. Genet.* 66; Pliny, *NH* 8. 195, 9.136. The *lituus*, a curved augural staff, was also considered of Etruscan origin, as according to some authors was the toga itself (Tert., *De Pall.* 1.1; Serv., *Aen.* 2.781)—denied by Wilson 1924.

[45] Beard *et al.* 1998, 20 question the 'Etruscan-ness' of *haruspices* at Rome, but Wood 1981, 312–13 sees the *Etrusca disciplina* as the "common cultural patrimony" of Etruria and Latium. 'Street-corner' *haruspices* even interpreted for lower class clients: Plaut., *Curc.* 483–84. *Haruspices* wore a distinctive sheepskin cloak, fibula, and conical hat comparable to the *apex* of the Roman *flamines* (Bonfante 2003 and this volume).

[46] Livy 5.40.7–10, 5.50.3; Florus 1.7.12; Gell., *NA* 4.9.8, Plut., *Cam.* 21 etc.; cf. Paul. Fest. 38.19L and Isid., *Etym.* 6.19.36.

late period. This picture, drawn from the archaeological material, can now be revised in the light of our exploration of the differing contexts for veiling.

In Campania, with its Greek heritage, it is no surprise to see the unveiled sacrifice prevail. Even so, veiled heads do occur, in a minority, in 3rd and 2nd century BCE contexts. At Capua, out of around 500 heads dated to the 4th–2nd century BCE (*i.e.* contemporary with the majority of examples in Latium and Etruria), just over thirty are veiled.

Among the Italic peoples, both types of head are to be found, as at Trebula Mutuesca in Sabinum. This became after 290 BCE an area of viritane allotments, whose religious, and probably communal, life centred on an important pre-Roman sanctuary of Feronia. Here, interestingly, the votive heads were deposited (with other offerings) in a special pit around the time the temple was monumentalised (*c.* 265–240 BCE: Santoro 1987; Tron 1997). The earliest group, 4 veiled heads of the mid 4th century BCE, have far-flung parallels: with Teanum, Satricum, Falerii (Vignale), and Lucus Feroniae. A larger group of heads (later 4th–early 3rd century BCE), with and without the veil, can be compared with examples from Lavinium, Carsioli and Lucus Feroniae.[47] All of the (early 2nd century BCE) heads from Lucus Feroniae itself are veiled, and in general the few finds from other Falisco-Capenate sites also point to the veiled sacrificial rite,[48] a conclusion supported by Festus (410.6L). He records a Faliscan festival called *Struppearia* "because they walk around wearing wreaths (*struppi*)"—probably implying that on other occasions worshippers were veiled. We know these centres to have been politically closer to Etruria than to Rome before their conquest (Cornell 1995, 313), yet like Veii they do not follow the broad Etruscan pattern of unveiled dedications.

In Latium some sites, such as Frascati and Ardea (Pescarello), have only veiled heads, and elsewhere, as at Satricum, veiled heads are in

[47] On the site, see Reggiani 1987; Alvino 1995. It is hard to know what to make of the prodigy reported by Julius Obsequens 43 for the year 104 BCE: "at Trebula Mutusca a statue in the temple, the head of which had been bare, was found veiled" (*simulacrum in templo, quod capite ad<a>perto fuit, opertum inventum*). But at Rome one of the reasons given for the bare-headed worship of Hercules, was that the god's own statue was veiled.

[48] Söderlind 2002, 370–71, no. 109. The very early heads from Falerii itself are unveiled.

the majority.[49] At Lavinium, of identifiable examples, 103 are veiled and 12 unveiled (out of 232). Nevertheless, even here and in the supposed 'heartland' of the veiled sacrifice, Rome, we find unveiled votive types: at the sanctuary of Minerva Medica, for example, 4 out of 42 are veiled (first half of the 4th to 2nd century BCE). The picture is similar in colonial contexts. At Cales in Campania, where a Latin colony was founded in 334 BCE, both types of *ex-voto* occur in similar quantities. At Luceria (a Roman colony of 318 BCE) large numbers of veiled heads have been found, but even here *unveiled* heads form part of the votive repertoire. At Carsioli, established in 298 BCE to control the Aequiculi, a deposit of votive heads, veiled and unveiled, is attested in the colony itself,[50] and another 3 km away in a pre-Roman sanctuary which continued to flourish after the conquest. The heads from the latter shrine are dated stylistically between the 5th–3rd century BCE; of identifiable examples, 144 are veiled but another 84 are unveiled, or else wear a special pointed hood (Marinucci 1976). If Romans and Latins are distinguished by sacrifice *capite velato*, why do veiled and unveiled types in whatever quantities exist together in Latin, Roman and colonial contexts? Who, are we to imagine, dedicated those heads?

The situation in Etruria is perhaps not so markedly different as sometimes thought. Etruscan sites with *only* unveiled heads, as at Ghiaccio Forte in the Albegna valley, are comparatively unusual (Del Chiaro 1976, 22–25). Elsewhere veiled heads do exist in Etruscan centres, being found at Bomarzo (predominantly veiled), S. Giuliano, Vulci, Marsiliana d'Albegna (S. Sisto), and Veii.

Veii is important, because the origins of the votive head type are to be sought here, and the city's conquest was evidently a landmark in the spread of these ex-votos (Comella 1982, 39). Both veiled and unveiled heads are found here; in fact some of the oldest, pre-colonial, female heads (late 5th-early 4th century BCE) are veiled.[51] Perhaps Veii before its conquest shared with Rome the veiled sacrifice, as it shared

[49] An unusually large terracotta female statuette has a bare head: Bouma 1996, 291 fig. 18.b. Unveiled heads are found alongside veiled ones at other Latin sites—Aricia, Ardea (Civita Vecchia), Cora, Casamari (Antera), Castel di Decima—if generally in smaller numbers.

[50] Oricola, loc. Sancti Petri: Piraino 2003.

[51] Such as the heads from Campetti listed by Comella 2004, 337, nos. 70 (480–460 BCE), 71 (480–450 BCE) and 73 (450–410 BCE). Note also veiled bronzes, such as the female statuette holding a bird from Campetti I (late 5th–early 4th century BCE): Bouma 1996, 240 fig. 10c.

common funerary and epigraphic traditions.[52] It would not after all be so surprising to identify similar cultural practices in cities a mere 20 km apart.

At the Campetti sanctuary unveiled heads are initially more numerous (15 unveiled, 7 veiled, of the 4th century BCE onwards), but by the 2nd century BCE most heads are veiled. In the Porta Caere deposit, also 2nd century BCE, the majority of heads (24 of 27) are again veiled.[53] Statuettes of Aeneas carrying Anchises found at Veii have been interpreted as evidence of colonists worshipping here, but there is no reason to assume that these or the veiled head votives were dedicated *solely* by Roman incomers.[54] Many Veientines still inhabited the area, as well as Capenates and Faliscans, all granted land and Roman citizenship alongside settlers from Rome (Livy 5.30.8, 6.4.4). Most likely, then, Veii's Hellenistic-period sanctuaries show colonists and indigenes participating in shared cults.[55]

Another southern Etruscan city, Caere, enjoyed phases of close political co-operation with Rome, and supported Rome not Veii during the final struggle between those cities. Livy refers to connections between Roman and Caeretan nobles towards the close of the 4th century BCE which involved the education of Roman boys at Caere; another anecdote implies that Caeretans were serving with the Roman army fighting Etruscan Rusellae in 302 BCE (9.36.2–4, 10.4.8–10). As we saw, Caere also had a close religious relationship with Rome (Cornell 1995: 320–22). By the mid 4th century BCE, south Etruria was pretty firmly under Roman domination, and a series of colonies were established here: Castrum Novum in 264 BCE, Alsium in 247 BCE, Fregenae in 245 BCE, Pyrgi *c.* 194 BCE, Graviscae in 181 BCE. Despite being strongly affected by Roman colonisation in its territory, at Caere the so-called Etruscan tradition of the unveiled head was "conservata tenacemente", according to Comella (1982, 39). At Caere's Manganello

[52] See Cornell 1991, 14–15 on the "epigraphic profile" and funerary practices of Veii, "quite unlike that of the other cities of southern Etruria… [but] remarkably similar to the pattern found in Rome and Latium".

[53] Vagnetti 1971, Torelli and Pohl 1973, Comella and Stefani 1990.

[54] *E.g.* Villa Giulia inv. 40272 from Veii, Campetti sanctuary (one of several examples). Torelli 1973, 335–36 notes prototypes in Attic vase painting, and connects the statuettes to Roman colonists at Veii after 386 BCE, dating them on technical and stylistic grounds to the 4th century BCE (others date them to the 5th).

[55] Comella and Stefani 1990, 214f. There is evidence of cult continuity in other colonial areas, *e.g.* at Luceria (Athena Ilias) in Apulia: D'Ercole 1990.

sanctuary, only two of 14 heads have a veil—presumably because the rites of its deity usually demanded unveiled sacrifice. Another strong indicator that ritual rather than ethnicity was the primary factor in the choice of terracottas comes from the fact that in some deposits there is a gender bias. At the Vignaccia sanctuary, virtually all the surviving heads are female (late 4th–early 3rd centuries BCE).[56] Among the votives from Caere in the Museo Gregoriano (5th–4th century BCE) more female heads than male are veiled (one out of 16 male, 5 out of 22 female veiled heads: Comella 1982, 36).

Although in other Etruscan centres veiled heads gradually become more common, hardly any have been found at Tarquinii, a city which seems to have held a special place in Etruscan religious life. The Ara della Regina temple was one of the largest in Etruria. Its origins encompassed a strange 9th century BCE burial of an epileptic (visionary?) child, possibly connected with the myth of Tages, the divine creature who imparted knowledge of divination to the Etruscans, and with Tarchon, eponymous founder of Tarquinii, and the first *haruspex*. Early imperial inscriptions document an abiding interest in Etruscan traditions, one listing heads of the *ordo LX haruspicum*, beginning perhaps with Tarchon (Torelli 1975). Tarchon also seems to have been selected to personify Tarquinii on a 1st century CE Caeretan relief: holding a scroll, he veils his head with his toga (de Grummond 2006, 203).

Out of 234 votive heads from the Ara della Regina temple, only 11 are veiled.[57] No veiled heads at all have been found at the Porta Urbica sanctuary. New, unveiled, archetypes were produced by Tarquinian workshops through the 2nd century BCE, and the dedication of unveiled votives continued almost until the tradition itself died out in the early 1st century BCE (Comella 1982, 39). Söderlind sees all this as evidence for "exclusively Etruscan participation" in cult here, even after the Roman conquest, arguing that the shrines avoided Romanisation

[56] Nagy 1988. Statuettes by contrast comprise both male and female examples. Firm conclusions depend on studies of well-excavated larger deposits. The Vignaccia deposit, some 6,000 votives, was broken up for sale. Nagy's Lowie Museum collection comprises only around 800 items. Again, some of the earlier Caeretan heads are veiled: note Comella 2004, 337, nos 72 (mid 5th century BCE) and 74 (Vignaccia, first half of the 4th century BCE).

[57] They come not from the temple itself, but from a nearby shrine (or storeroom), and are dated from the second half of the 4th to the beginning of the 1st century BCE. Most were produced locally (Comella 1982, 225–26), although some veiled heads were imported from Tuscania (Söderlind 2002, 377).

because the city was never colonised (2002, 374, 377, 381). Even so, by the 1st century BCE Tarquinii had long been subjugated, and had a colony on its coastline at Graviscae. Rome itself was no great distance, at around 80 km away quite near enough for influences to percolate over the course of centuries, and for Romans to visit and worship here. And given Tarquinii's importance as a haruspical centre, and the fact that Rome regularly called upon *haruspices* for advice, we might expect more 'evidence' of a Roman presence in its sanctuaries in the form of veiled-head votives—if the veiled head was indeed a defining feature of the Roman religious experience.

At Tarquinii and Caere, then, veiled heads are rare. Yet these cities were relatively close to Rome, and during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BCE, the period when votive heads were so ubiquitous, southern Etruria was politically dependent on Rome. How could these cities have escaped Roman influence? Why do we find so few examples of the ex-votos alleged to symbolise a Roman presence and a 'typically Roman rite', in what ought to be one of the most Romanised parts of Etruria? The explanation for the persistence of the unveiled votive types must be that those particular cults required the unveiled form of sacrifice of all worshippers. And, given that veiled heads do spread across other parts of Etruria, it would seem that this requirement was not necessarily in force elsewhere.

A rather different scenario emerges from the thoughtful case study by Martin Söderlind of another Etruscan sanctuary, at Tessennano in the territory of Vulci.[58] The votives found at this rural shrine were mostly produced at Tuscania and are dated after Vulci's conquest (280 BCE). The majority of the heads are veiled (particularly in the 2nd century BCE), but there are significant numbers of unveiled heads (45 out of 174), regarded by Söderlind as the offerings of the surviving Etruscan inhabitants according to their own unveiled rite. The veiled heads were adapted from unveiled types, the veil being added by hand.[59] Assuming

[58] Söderlind 2002; other finds from the shrine (which seems to have a pre-Roman phase also) were studied by Costantini 1995.

[59] Söderlind 2002, 375–77 regards this as an example of local artisans meeting "the new demand for heads with *velum* presented by the colonists", supplying products for a "foreign religious practice". But what input did consumers have in the typology of the votive? To what extent were coroplasts responding to the demands or expectations of their customers, to what extent fostering them? And is the veiled head really representative of a 'foreign' practice, when literary (and much archaeological) evidence points to Etruscans and Romans using essentially the same forms of ritual?

that the veil represents the Roman sacrificial rite, and noting the presence of centuriation in the region, Söderlind believes their dedicants to be mostly Roman colonists rather than Romanised Etruscans.[60] Even alongside evidence such as centuriation, however, the iconography of a votive cannot be used to identify 'ethnic Roman' worshippers. Instead, rather than proving the ethnicity of a votary, a veiled or unveiled head records the type of rite performed—by whom, we cannot tell.[61]

III. *Conclusions*

At first sight, the case for the traditional argument seems compelling. Veiled-head votives represent worshippers in the act of sacrifice, in a manner known to be employed by Romans. They increase over the centuries as Roman power over Italy grows in turn, and are characteristic of Roman and colonial settings. This interpretation, however, is based on the simple premise that Romans *alone* sacrificed with head veiled.[62] In fact a tradition of veiled sacrifice seems certain for the Latins, and can probably be extended more widely among the Italic peoples. The evidence for Etruria is inconclusive, but it is unlikely that the Etruscans exclusively sacrificed unveiled;[63] indeed our sources believed that rites

[60] Söderlind 2002, 369, 371, 380–81. The lower levels of society whom he regards as the dedicants of these votives were not "receptive enough to rapidly absorb religious traditions from their conquerors at a long distance", but only if living alongside colonists (377)—yet these were offerings made over several centuries, only 100 km from Rome.

[61] There is an interesting coda in Söderlind's history of votive heads at Tessennano. The 2nd century BCE sees growing social differentiation in the region, with smallholdings contracting in size, and more villa-estates belonging to colonists turned over to large-scale agriculture. Intensified production of votive heads is accompanied by a decline in quality; they become the preserve of "marginalized smallholders". Large landowners reject their "former colonial/plebeian identity, closely connected with the use of terracotta votives of Etrusco-Latial-Campanian type". In other words, the very group which supposedly introduced the terracottas was no longer using them (Söderlind 2002, 91–92, 95–96, 382–83, 389–91).

[62] One of the great debates of early Roman history has been the degree to which Rome was influenced, or indeed, controlled, by Etruscans. Most scholars see Rome as under Etruscan domination during the archaic period (*contra*, Cornell 1995). How can we then confront, only a century after the expulsion of Tarquinius Superbus, an ethnically-defined 'Rome' with a pure and distinctively Roman religious culture, which can be identified here there and everywhere merely by the presence of a votive head?

[63] Except perhaps at certain shrines such as the Ara della Regina, whose gods demanded this form of cult to the exclusion of all others.

which involved veiling (augury for instance) were of Etruscan origin, and in their discussions of the origin of the Roman sacrificial rite, the contrast highlighted was Roman/Greek, not Roman/Etruscan.

Well before Augustus' *tota Italia*, in fact as far back as our evidence stretches, Rome had embraced foreign cults, brought them into the heart of the city physically and metaphorically, and celebrated their foreignness. Procedures developed to incorporate foreign deities into the Roman pantheon, via the Sybilline Books or the practice of *evocatio*, the luring to Rome of a deity from a besieged city. Similar procedures must have operated outside Rome, and so we should expect Romans or colonists participating in existing local cults to worship according to existing cult modalities—that is, by unveiled sacrifice if such was the local tradition.[64] Both rites were thus probably used contemporaneously, as was the case at Rome. The significance of the veil lay in the nature of the ritual required, and so the *same* worshipper could use a *different* mode of sacrifice—depending on the god, on a particular festival, even on a single specific moment of a festival.[65] All this is reflected in the surviving votive forms.

Finally, let us turn the archaeological evidence on its head. Observe how many unveiled heads come from Roman or purportedly Romanised contexts (including colonies),[66] and how many veiled heads are found in areas where a Greek-style rite is supposed to prevail. It immediately becomes clear that the veiled sacrifice is not an exclusively Roman practice, nor a clear marker of ethnic identity. And why should it be? In the ritual traditions of Central Italy we are confronted by different dialects of the same religious language. The cultural koine demonstrated for the Hellenistic period by Etrusco-Latial-Campanian votives existed

[64] At Rome, 'foreign' cults were supposedly practised according to the custom of the people of origin: Festus 268.27L.

[65] Note Lucus Feroniae, where all the heads are veiled, even though this was a common shrine for Latins, Capenates, Sabines and others. Söderlind (2002, 371) expects a mixture of types, representative of the ethnicity of the individual worshippers, but if we abandon ethnic preconceptions, the presence of veiled heads can be readily explained.

[66] Note also that veiled-head votives are not an invariable feature of colonies; nor were all colonists Romans, practising Roman customs. Various conquered peoples became eligible to enlist in colonies, and recent scholarship has also emphasised the inclusion of indigenes: Crawford (forthcoming); Bradley 2005; cf. on *incolae* Gagliardi 2006. Roman ideology itself promoted the idea that Roman culture was permeable to external influences, so there was no reason for colonies even to attempt to operate as hermetic entities.

before the Roman conquest,[67] and that conquest did not create, but reinforced, a culture that was already in many ways syncretic and hybridised.[68]

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[67] Already in the archaic period inscriptions enable us to identify outsiders dedicating at far-off sanctuaries, an Etruscan, Lars Velchaina, at Satricum, for example.

[68] As illustrated by the unproblematic continuation of many local cults well into the Roman period, *e.g.* Volsinii (Pozzarello) and Veii (Campetti); see Söderlind 2002, 379–80 for further examples.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

ON THE ENIGMATIC DEITY LUR IN THE *LIBER LINTEUS ZAGRABIENSIS*

L. Bouke van der Meer

The famous Linen Book with the longest Etruscan text (hereafter LL), also known as the Mummy Wrappings of Zagreb, was found in Egypt.[1] There it was once cut into eight strips, five of which have been partially preserved, as they were used for wrapping the mummy of a rich, young lady. The linen is dated between *c.* 425 and 375 BCE according to C14-research, but the writing has to be dated between the end of the 3rd century and *c.* 150 BCE.[2] The textile seems to be of Etruscan, not of Egyptian manufacture.[3]

A scribe who was active in a North Etruscan region near Umbria, probably in or near Perugia, wrote the text, as some words and names are only testified there. Cortona may be excluded as the typical local, reversed letter E is absent. Judged by the many spelling variations, it seems likely that the writer first worked in Southern Etruria, in Tarquinia or its region and later in Northern Etruria. The Liber Linteus has been classified as a funerary ritual book in the past but nowadays it is usually labelled as a ritual calendar, although months are mentioned only from column 6 onwards: *acale* 'in June' in column 6, *θucte* 'in August'[4] and *celi* 'in September' in column 8. However, we cannot rule out that dates before June were mentioned in the lost strips of the first five columns. Probably the LL was a *liber ritualis*, in view of the frequent formula: *śacnicleri cilθl śpureri meθlumeric enaś* (or a similar,

[1] For the LL text see H. Rix (ed.), *ET II*, 1–8; for colour photographs of the LL see Roncalli 1985 (with a transcription which is out of date since 1991). For technical and practical reasons I use the conventional rendering of the Etruscan letters s and ś instead of Rix's complicated system.

[2] See the numerous articles dealing with many aspects of the LL in *VAMZ* 1986 and 1987.

[3] I thank Margarita Gleba for her observation that the linen of the LL does not show spinning in s-direction, which is typical for Egyptian linen.

[4] For *thucte* = 'in August', see Rix 1986, 17–40.

shorter formula), probably meaning 'for the sacred fraternity/priesthood (*śacnica*)[5] of the citadel (*cilθ*), for the city state (*śpura*) and for the city (*meθlum*)[6] of *ena* (of whomsoever).'

The word *ena* has often been interpreted as a name of an unknown city. Steinbauer translates *enaś* as 'of today' (supposed genitive of an adverb *ena*).[7] However, thanks to a 5th century BCE inscription cut over a large niche in a tomb near Chiusi, published and translated by Enrico Benelli, reading *ein θui ara enan*, which means 'not here make > lay down whomsoever', it is almost certain that *ena* is an indefinite pronoun meaning: whoever.[8] Benelli suggests that the LL was made for and used by a community on the move, eventually to Egypt.

It does seem likely that the LL represents more than an offer- and prayer-calendar. Significant is the presence of the words *trutanaśa*, *truθ*, *truθl*, *truθur* and *trut(um)*.[9] *Trut-* is akin to the root of the title *trutnvt* in the bilingual inscription of Pesaro in Umbria (Um 1.7):

> *[L. CA]ATIUS. L. F. STE. HARUSPEX /FULGURIATOR*
> *cafates. lr. lr. netśvis. trutnvt. frontac*

The Latin word *fulguriator* corresponds to Etruscan *frontac* (an interpreter or propitiator of lightning). The Etruscan words *netśvis* and *trutnvt* seem to be covered by the Latin word *haruspex*. *Netśvis* certainly is an *haruspex* who interprets livers (cf. *natis* on a gem, Vt G.1; de Grummond 2006a, 40, fig. III.15). As Cicero (Cic. *Div* 1.35; 1.93; 2.42; 2.49) mentions three branches of the *ars haruspicina*: interpretation of entrails, lightning and *omina*, *trutnvt* (*nomen agentis*) therefore probably means 'interpreter of *portenta*.' *Trut-* therefore may mean the act of interpreting portents. The presence of words like *trut-* implies that, apart from instructions for one or more offerings to a god or gods on a certain day, the LL text contains other elements referring to activities of soothsayers.

The structure of the LL text is as follows. Column 1 ('page 1') must have contained the colophon, in view of the twice occurring verbal form *zichri*: '(this) has to be written', a unique command as some inscriptions mention verbal forms such as *ziχunce* ('(x) has written') in the archaic festival calendar of the *Tabula Capuana* (*c*. 470 BCE), right at the end

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[5] Rix 1991b, 682–683.
[6] Colonna 1988, 15–36.
[7] Steinbauer 1999, 417.
[8] Benelli 1998 (2001), 221–224. An alternative translation, however, might be: *enan* = 'us'; *enaś* = 'of us; our', if the content is meant as a joke.
[9] See *ET I*, s.v. *trut-*.

of a text.[10] So the LL text may have been written in a period of crisis, at some occasion after the Roman conquest of Volsinii Veteres in 264 BCE and before *c.* 150 BCE.

Columns 2–6 mention as main gods: the *aiser śeu* ('dark/underworld gods'; see below) and the *flere in crapśti* ('the *numen* who (is) in *crap-*'; *crap-* may be comparable with *Grab(ov)-* in the Umbrian *Tabulae Iguvinae*, epithet of three gods who were worshipped in front of, i.e. outside the three city gates of Iguvium (Gubbio).

In the columns 8–11 *neθuns* (Neptunus), however, is the main god. Finally, in column 12, the 'final page', the *aiser śeu* are mentioned again and at the very end there is a clear topographical indication: *unialti ursmnal* ('in the (sanctuary) of *uni urmsnai*') that is the Etruscan Juno, in this case protective god of a *gens* or family Ursmna(i). The *aiser śeu*, *flere in crapśti*, and *neθuns* each have a *farθan* (genius, progenitor). The translation 'genius' is a discovery of G. Colonna (1980, 161–79). It is based on a funerary inscription Vc 1.64 reading: …*anc farθnaχe veluis tuteis*…('(and) who was generated by Vel Tute').

The lexeme *farθans* (genitive of *farθan*: 'of/for Farthan') is further only known from a bronze, 4th century BCE *simpulum*, found at the bottom of a pit in the northern sanctuary of Uni and Thesan at Pyrgi.[11] Its engraved representation shows a Silenus head with clear characteristics of Medusa: snake hair and extended tongue. It seems therefore that *farθan* is a Dionysiac, bisexual, (re)generative force of life and death. Therefore, possibly the three *farθan*'s are one and the same supergod.

The rites in honour of Nethuns are partly similar to those in columns 2–5.

So the text shows a certain symmetry; the columns before column 6.14 (see below) refer to months before the 18th of June, the columns 8–12 to August and September and possibly to later months.

Under the red division line under column line 6.8 (under the words *iχ. śacnicla*) evidently a new paragraph begins. The following lines 6.9–13 (partly quoted) read: *zaθrumsne. lusaś. fler. hamφisca. θezeri*…… *thunsna. thuns. flers* which can be translated as: 'on the 20th for Lusa a sacrificial victim, that of *hamφis* ('right'?), has to be presented/slaughtered……the first part (?) of the first victim.' Lusa is a goddess, twice inscribed as *lwsl* (genitive), in a marginal and in an inner region of the

[10] Cristofani 1995, 58 (*Tabula Capuana*, (final) line 62).

[11] Colonna 1970, 61–62, no. 42, tav. 20. Colonna 1971, 372 interprets this *farthan* as a *genius loci* (cf. *pater Pyrgensis*).

Bronze Liver of Piacenza, in the latter case together with *velχ(ans)*/Vulcanus. Unfortunately no month is mentioned in line 6.9. It could be the 20th of June, in which case it anticipates the 18th of June in 6.14 (a similar anticipation occurs also in column 11) or 20th May, as the following passage is written between blank spaces of 2 or 3 lines (cf. 8.1–2: only two lines refer to the 13th of August, also written between blank spaces). But as Lvsa on the Liver resides in the exact east (region 4) and, diametrically, in the exact west (near region 12, together with *velχ*/Vulcanus),[12] it is more likely that the date is the 20th of March, a date very near the vernal equinox. The offer of a firstling (*θunsna θuns flers*) seems to confirm my hypothesis.

As is known from Martianus Capella's description of a—partially Etruscan—heaven,[13] *Lynsa silvestris*, who may be identical to Lvsa, lives with Mulciber (again Vulcanus!) in region 4, near the exact east in Martianus' 16–partite heaven. Who was Lusa/Lvsa? Martianus Capella's characterization implies that she is a goddess of the woods (*silvestris*). This interpretation has been contested by Capdeville (1996, 287). According to the present author, Lvsa's nature can be deduced from 3rd century BCE coins from Malaca (in Spain), which are imitations of Populonian coins, with one side showing Velch(ans)/Vulcanus, without inscription but armed with his attributes, the other side showing a female (?) head with an aureole (Maggiani 1992, 179). This combination of two deities may indicate that Velchans' partner is a light goddess, which is understandable in view of her position along the cardinal east-west axis.

Column 6.14–17 obviously refers to activities in June. Column 6.14 reads: *eslem. zaθrumiś. acale. tinś. in. śarle*. . . . which can be translated as: 'on the 18th of June (*acale*) for Tin who (is) in **śarla* (in the 10th (place ?)) . . .' The date is of special interest as it comes only three days before the summer solstice on the 21st of June.

It becomes still more striking as column 8.3 (after a blank space under line 8.1–2: 13th August) mentions: *celi. huθiś. zaθrumiś. flerχva. neθunsl* . . . which means: 'On the 24th of September sacrificial victims for Nethuns . . .' This date comes very near the autumnal equinox, on 22nd September.

[12] van der Meer 1987, 24, fig. 14; 150, fig. 69.
[13] *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercvrii* (I. 48).

Finally, in column 12.10 we read: *θunem. cialχuś. masn. unialti. urs-mnal*…which can be translated as: 'On the 29th (a) *mas(a)n* (an offering) in the sanctuary of the Urs(i)m(i)nian Uni…' In column 11.f4, just preceding the last column 12, *satr* (Saturnus) is mentioned. As the Roman Saturnalia took place on 17th December, part of column 11 and column 12 may relate to December. In that case the 29th is seven days later than the winter solstice on 22nd December.

The dates mentioned differ respectively one, two, three and seven days from the four important seasonal moments, the beginnings of spring, summer, autumn and winter.[14] The discrepancy may be due to Etruscan calendar systems. The LL text does not mention more than 29 days. A brontoscopic calendar, written by P. Nigidius Figulus around 50 BCE and handed down by Johannes Lydus, *De ostentis* 27–38 (6th century CE) mentions twelve months of 30 days, curiously starting with June and ending with May (Turfa 2006, 173–190).[15] As there were 12 months each counting 29 or 30 days at most, the two calendars had respectively 348 and 360 days, so 17 to 5 days less than our year of 365 days. This may have led to incidentally adding days to the calendar.

A final indication for an all encompassing seasonal order of the LL text is that Nethuns, god of the waters, is not mentioned before column 8, most probably because he was associated with autumnal rains after the hot, dry summer. Apart from the main gods mentioned above, there are also minor ones, who are subordinated to them. One of them is Lur, an enigmatic deity, mentioned in column 5 and perhaps in column 6.

I will first cast some light on the character of column 5. After the *pro quo* formula *śacnicleri*…in 5.6–7, an offer has to be made to the *farθan aiseraś śeuś* ('the Genius of the *śeu* gods'). The character of this collective can be deduced from 5.19–20:

> *nunθen. θesan. tinś. θesan aiseraś. śeuś*…
> 'invoke/offer to Thesan of Tin (and) to Thesan of the *śeu* gods'

[14] The *culścva* (gates-) rite on 13th August in LL 8.1–2 and the Roman *Portunalia* on 17th August differ four days; see Rix 1986, 17–40.

[15] The text looks like Mesopotamian divination texts with the well-known 'if then' formulas. A year beginning with June is unparalleled in Etruria and in Mesopotamia. The festival calendar of the archaic *Tabula Capuana* starts with March; see Cristofani 1995, 60–61.

The goddess Thesan can be identified as Eos/Aurora on iconographic grounds. Therefore Thesan Tins must mean Aurora of Tin (Jupiter). The word *tin*, however, can also mean 'day'. This implies that Thesan Tins is the goddess of light of Jupiter/day and by consequence Thesan Aiseras Seus may mean Thesan of the dark/night/underworld gods. The latter Thesan may be an evening star. We know that Etruscan divinities can have a double, opposite or even plural character. For example, a similar deity, Cath(a), is mentioned twice on the Bronze Liver of Piacenza, once in the *pars familiaris* and once in the *pars hostilis* (van der Meer 1987, 24–25, fig. 24).[16]

The double meaning of the word *θesan* is also illustrated by a 4th century BCE mirror from Orbetello, showing the male Sun god on a triga below and again in a boat above, evidently summarizing his voyage above the earth during the day and on the sea during the night (van der Meer 1987, 50, fig. 20). The didaskalion in scriptio continua reads: *caθesan*, clearly meaning 'this (is) *θesan*'. It cannot be the goddess Thesan as the traveller is one and the same man, the Sun. In other words 'this (is) sunrise/sunset' is a better translation. Therefore I reject Colonna's hypothesis that cathesan would be *cathe sans ('Cathe father'). Moreover, Cathe does not exist.

If the epithet *śeu* is akin to Latin *Seja/Seia* and *seges* ('sowing'), the *aiser śeu* can be compared with Demeter and Persephone, goddesses of fertility and the underworld. These Greek deities, also mentioned as 'the two gods', were already known, alone or together, in the Etruscan world from the 6th century BCE onwards, according to Greek inscriptions in the sanctuaries at Gravisca and the southern sanctuary at Pyrgi. If my interpretation is correct, the double presence of Thesan can refer to the vernal equinox of the 20th of March, the beginning of spring (see above, column 6.9: *zaθrumsne*: 'on the 20th'). The *eiser. śic. śeuc* (*śi-c śeu-c*) in column 5.10 and 5.14 are the *śi* gods and the *śeu* gods, in all probability *dei superi* and *dei inferi*. The double conjunction *-c* (cf. Lat. *-que*) is also present in 10.f1 *θapnac θapnzac* ('both a dish and a small dish'), and Cr 5.2 *apac atic* ('both father and mother').

In column 5.21–2 we read the following words: *… cisum. θesane. uslanec mlaχe luri. zeric*…., which may mean: '….. a threefold thing (probably a libation) at sunrise and at noon for nice Lur and Zer…'[17] The lexeme

[16] Martianus Capella mentions her as *Celeritas solis filia*.

[17] Steinbauer 1999, 438 tentatively translates *luri.zeric* as: "bei schönen Scheinen (der Sonne?) und bei freien/klarem (Himmel?)", which does not make much sense.

uslane (<**uslanai*) is the locative of **uslana*, possibly an adjective of *usil*: 'sun; noon; midday.' Colonna translates *uslane* tentatively as 'during the rising of the sun', but this is already expressed by *θesane*. The word *uslanes* (uncertain reading) may be present on an Etruscan mirror from Corchiano, a site near Civita Castellana (Ambrosini 1996).[18]

Who are the enigmatic deities Lur and Zer?

The lexeme *mlaχe* is derived from *mlaχ* ('nice; beautiful'), cf. *mlace farθne* in a tomb inscription at Tarquinia, Ta 1.164: *spitus larθ…arce. maniim mlace. farθne. faluθras, or* 'Larth Spitus…made the monument for the beautiful *farθan* (genius) of (the) *faluθra.*' The latter word is probably a collective, cf. for example **huzrnatra* ('epheby, club of young men').

The words *mlaχe luri*, dative of *lur*, are also mentioned in an inscription in the Tomba Golini I of Settecamini, near Orvieto (*c.* 350–325 BCE) and in an inscription on a sarcophagus lid from Musarna in the Ager Tarquiniensis (*c.* 275–250 BCE):

– Vs 1.179 *vel: laθites….zilaχnve: pulum: rumitrineθi: mlace: clel: lur[i]*
– AT 1.107 *larθ: aleθnas: ……luri: mlace.*

Judged by the parallel *mlace. farθne* (quoted above), it seems that Lur is an underworld god. The front of the sarcophagus chest (AT 1.107) shows a mask with a Phrygian cap between two centrifugal *ketea* (van der Meer 2004, 150, no. H 213). The mask may personify death or a death demon. The meaning of a mask is known from an earlier context. The name *φersu*, a man who threatens a blindfolded, armed man with a bloodthirsty dog (in three archaic tomb paintings at Tarquinia, Ta 7.4; 7.11), means 'mask' (preserved in Latin persona: 'mask, person').

Possibly the root *lur* is also present in the Latin words *luror* and *luridus*, as in Horace: *luridus Orcus* or 'the pale underworld god' (*Carm.* 3.4.74).[19] Other underworld gods also have the epithet *m(a)lak-*:

– AV 2.3 *mi malak vanθ* 'I (am) the nice/good Vanth'
– AS 7.1…*leprnal: mlakas* '…for the nice/good Leprna'[20]

It is probably *culsu leprna*, mentioned in Ta 1.17, the inscription on the *volumen* of the famous Pulenas sarcophagus lid. *Culśu* (inscribed) is visible

[18] Also see *CIE* 8412 (the mirror represents a scene with *seθlans, acaviser, turan* and *uslanes* (?)).

[19] Maybe the inscription from Spina (Sp 0.4), settlement Valle Mezzano (*c.* 450 BCE)….*θanrus lu*[-8….] mentions Thanr and Lur. Published by Maras 2001, 180.

[20] Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 6.142 (*pulchra Proserpina*: 'beautiful Proserpina').

as a female demon of the gate of the underworld on the famous alabaster sarcophagus of Hasti Afunei from Chiusi, now at Palermo.[21]

The root *lur* is also present in *lurniθi*, locative of *lurni* in LL column 6.18. The lexemes *lur, lurs, lurni* and *lurmita/lurmica*, names of a deity, occur in the following inscriptions. On the Lead from Magliano, *c*. 450 BCE, we read:

– AV 4.1 … *tins. lursth* … 'for Tin in the area of Lur' (Maggiani 2002, 283)
– AV 4.1 … *thun lursth sal afrs. naces* … 'a firstling? in the area of Lur dedicated to the beloved/grand- (?) parents'

The origial name of the god must have been *lur*, as locatives ending on *-th* are preceded by a genitive (cf. *velclthi*: 'at **Velca*' (Vulci, see Vc 4.1; 4.2)). As some other deities (Thanr, Calu) mentioned on the Lead of Magliano can be related to the underworld, Lur can, in principle, also belong to the funerary sphere, in association with an ancestral cult.

The lexeme *lurś* in the following inscription is a nominative that developed from a genitive:

– OI 0.21 *lurśl lrtla vatlmi faśte*
'For Lurs Larta, o Vatlmi, *faśte*'

The inscription is on the upperside of a disk that crowns the top of a South Etruscan, bronze candelabrum, *c*. 400–350 BCE; the artifact was made in Vulci or more likely in Orvieto.[22] As candelabra usually are found in tombs, this inscription seems to confirm Lur's funerary nature.

A bronze *arula* or base from Vulci, *località* Poggio Olivastro, dated to the 4th or 3rd century BCE, has the following inscription:[23]

truφun peθu/nus. v. l/av // lurmic/la. turce. XXX/cver
'Truphun Pethunus son of Vel and L. Av. to Lurmica gave XXX (as?) a sacred object'.

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[21] van der Meer 2004, 99–100, fig. 58; 135 no. H(erbig) 76; Krauskopf 2006, 68 fig. V.1.

[22] Colonna 1989–90, 892 (*faśte* <**faś-te-i*); Maras 1998, 337–351, presuming a relationship between *faś* and Latin **fa(s)num*) translates *faśte*: "(here) in (your) sanctuary". *Faśte* may, however, be a family name, cf. *tarcste* in Vt 1.72. There is no reason to reconstruct *lvrsl* instead of *lvsl* on the Piacenza Liver (Pa 4.2) as Colonna 1984, no. 18 and Maras 1998, 330 no. 21 suggest.

[23] Benelli 1991; Maras 1998, 331. The original context, probably not a tomb, is unknown.

On a bronze sheet, a *sors*, from Perugia (3rd or 2nd century BCE), Pe 4.4, we read: *lvrmit[la cvera]* or 'dedicated to Lvrmita' (Maras 1998, 351; Maggiani 2002, 270–271). The type of artifact shows that the deity has also had an oracular function.

The following text is inscribed on an early Hellenistic bronze statue of an adorant young boy from Southern Etruria:

> OA 3.6 *vel matlnas turce lur:mitla cvera*
> 'Vel Matlnas gave (me) to Lurmita as sacred (gift)'[24]

Cvera is the adjective of *cver*. As Rix suggests the colon between *lur* and *mitla* should be deleted.

Finally *lurs* may be mentioned on a 5th century BCE vase from a sanctuary near a bridge at San Giovenale (Colonna and Backe Forsberg, 1999, 76 no. 35):

> *mi l[urs l]aruniθla*
> 'I (am) of Lurs that of Larun (**lurs laruniθa*)'

The epithets Larta (cf. Latin Lar) and Larunitha indicate that Lur is also a protective god. Laran and Maris on Etruscan mirrors are in marginal position on Etruscan mirrors, flanking and protecting major gods (van der Meer 1987, 121–2; 1995, 229–232). The suburban context of the vase, just outside San Giovenale, confirms my interpretation.

So, in principle *mlaχe luri zeric* in LL may mean: 'for the good/beautiful Lur and Zer'. Steinbauer translates *zeri* as 'free (person)', on the basis of a curse inscription from Monte Pitti (near Populonia): Po 4.4, line 9: …*ceś. zeriś*….*lautniθa* ('….of *zeri*…freedwoman').[25] In Po 4.4 line 6, however, the words *ceś. zeriś* occur without *lautniθa*. The meaning of *ceś* is unclear.[26] It may be a nominative, judged by *ceśc (ces-c) aniaχ* (an adjective/ethnicum referring to a place **ania* in LL column 6.2).

In the inscription of the famous Cippus Perusinus (Pe 8.4) line 18 we read: …*ein. zeri una cla. θil. θunχulθl*….or 'and not for *zer-* (an) *una* (vase?) of this (*clal*) water (*θi-s*) of (the) *θunchulθ*', but the word *zer* cannot mean 'freedman'. De Simone's tentative translation of the substantiated adjective *zersna* in the *Tabula Cortonensis*, line A 4, as 'masks of ancestors' might support my hypothesis that *zer* is a god with a funerary character

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[24] Roncalli and Bonfante 1991, 289–291, no. 6.12.

[25] Steinbauer 1999, 310–1 and 325.

[26] *Ces* on a vase, Cr 0.8, may be the name of person. *ces* may be akin to Lat. * *cesna* > *cena* (meal).

(De Simone 1998, 25, 84). The usual reading is, however, *tersna* instead of *zersna* (Agostiniani and Nicosia 2000, 100–101).

To conclude, Lur is a god of the underworld, with a protecting, martial and oracular character. More difficult to reconstruct is the character of Zer. However, as he is probably mentioned in a curse inscription, he may be an underworld god too. The LL text contains more references to funerary practices and the underworld. These will be dealt with in my future monograph on the LL.[27]

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[27] As for a very recently found potsherd with a graffito reading *lurś* (3rd century BCE) found in Cetamura, see de Grummond 2006b, 9.

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CHAPTER FOURTEEN

CREMATION AND COMMINUTION AT ETRUSCAN TARQUINIA IN THE 5TH–4TH CENTURY BCE: INSIGHTS INTO CULTURAL TRANSFORMATIONS FROM TOMB 6322

Marshall Joseph Becker

Introduction[1]

Why Examine the Bones

> Abraham spoke up again, 'Here I am presuming to speak to the Lord, I who am but dust and ashes.'
>
> *Genesis* XVIII 27 (Speiser 1964, 132–133)

[1] My most sincere thanks are due Dr. Maria Cataldi for making all the necessary arrangements over the many years of this project, and for continuing co-operation in the development of these reports. Dr. Cataldi's significant contribution to the archaeological understanding of these Etruscan tombs and her generous sharing of data is deeply appreciated.

Special thanks are due Dott. Giovanni Scichilone who, as *Soprintendente Archeologico per Etruria Meridionale*, gave permission to study the skeletal materials from ongoing excavations at Tarquinia and to use the *foresteria* at the Museo Nazionale Etrusco in Tarquinia while conducting that research. Thanks also are due Dr. Francesca Boitani for her considerable help in carrying this project to its conclusion and to Dr. Margarita Gleba for her important editing of the papers in this collection. At Tarquinia the co-operation of Dr. Gloria Adinolfi and Dr. Margherita Slaska were instrumental to the completion of this work. The various contributions made by Bruce Donohoe, Dr. and Mrs. Elio Ferrillo, the Joseph Eggen family, and the entire ranks of Tarquinia's *Corpo Bandistico Cittadino "G. Setaccioli"* are most gratefully acknowledged. Thanks also are due Dr. Jean M. Turfa, and to Prof. Francis Johnston for their encouragement and aid in this research. Prof. John Bodel kindly offered many useful comments regarding his related work as well as on my efforts to put his data into context. The contributions of Virginia Greene (The University Museum), Dr. R. John H. Pearce, Dr. Michel Polfer, M. Samsky-Bremberg, and Dr. Andrew Wilson (Univ. of British Columbia) are also very much appreciated, as are the valuable comments of two anonymous reviewers. This paper was completed while the author was a Fellow in Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania. My sincere thanks are due Prof. Gregory P. Urban for his support of this and various other research projects.

A generous grant from the National Geographic Society (5326–94) enabled me to complete the field portion of this project. The subsequent support of the F. P. and M. E. Gillon Foundation during the preparation of this text also is gratefully acknowledged. Thanks also are due the members of the Congress of the United States of America for providing the tax structure that allows deductions for conducting academic research, which thereby promotes international co-operation such as was essential to this project. The ideas formulated here, as well as any errors of interpretation or presentation, remain the responsibility of the author alone.

> Then, while the earth shall be cast upon the Body by some standing by, the Minister shall say, '…earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust.'
> *Book of Common Prayer* (1945, 333)

Archaeology in Etruria has long suffered from an embarrassment of riches. With fields filled with large chamber tombs filled with objects of gold, the best examples of Attic pottery known and wall paintings of stupendous quality, who could possibly care about searching for the burned bones buried in a used clay cooking pot. Like the bones of the upscale people for whom these tombs were built, these pots and their contents were trashed by tomb looters as well as by the proto-archaeologists of the 19th and most of the 20th century. Even as the bones within Etruscan tombs began to be somewhat systematically recovered in the 1980s, the burned bones representing cremations were largely ignored even within big tombs that were still being identified. At sites such as Tarquinia, among the many inhumations in a chamber tomb, a number of cremations often are found. In these chamber tombs the cremations that had been placed within elaborate imported Greek vessels are commonly noted, and even saved, but those placed within simple or perishable containers generally go unnoticed or are simply disregarded.

The growing awareness in Italy of the importance of studying individuals buried in the simplest manners (such as in a *tomba a buca*; cf. Cavagnaro Vanoni 2002; Cataldi 2005) has led to increased interest in what the skeletal remains can tell us. Fortunately "the often underestimated presence of cremation" (Rife 2006) has become a subject of particular interest to physical anthropologists. The analysis of cremations is vital to the interpretation of mortuary programs of all classes as well as to the understanding of gender roles among the Etruscans (Becker 2005a). The study of cremated remains is particularly important in cases where these fragments of bone constitute the entire recovered mortuary 'assemblage' (*e.g.* Cazzella and Moscoloni 1988) and represent all that we can know about the burial other than its placement. The numbers of studies of burned bones has grown particularly rapidly over the past fifteen years as awareness of the value of this procedure has grown. Unfortunately there is more awareness of value (Borgognini Tarli, Minozzi and Masali 1998) than actual implementation of these studies. Relatively little effort has been made to decode what the contexts and condition of the recovered burned bones can tell us about Etruscan and Italic mortuary procedures.

In general cremation had become the norm throughout the Italian peninsula and much of central Europe during the Iron Age. Recent

studies of the taphonomic processes relating to cremation burials within egalitarian societies (Reinhard and Fink 1994) have been useful for understanding cultural activities during the later part of the Iron Age in Italy, commonly called the Villanovan period (*c.* 900/850–750/700 BCE; see Small 1994). These studies of skeletons and the changes they undergo prior to excavation also provide clues to the interpretation and meaning of cremation activities during the Etruscan period. Of particular note, especially with regard to the cremation in Tomb 6322 at Tarquinia and others of the 5th–4th century BCE, is that these later urns are much smaller than the large, biconical examples used during the Villanovan period.

The large biconical urns were used to inter the relatively unaltered bone that was recovered from an individual after the pyre had cooled. A brief note should be made that the term 'ashes' as applied to cremated remains greatly distorts our perception of what remains after most cremations. What is left is essentially a burned and often relatively intact skeleton, as will be discussed below. Although the Roman term *ossilegium* to refer to an assemblage of burned bone cannot be documented from before the 5th century CE, I find it useful as a description of the burned skeletal materials that remain after the pyre has done its work.[2] Biconical urns generally have a volume of over 25,000 cc, enabling all of the burned skeletal material to be held along with a small array of grave offerings. Biconical urns differ within each cultural area in size, shape and decoration. Almost all, however, were of large size when compared with urns of the 5th century BCE and later.[3]

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[2] Philoxenus (440–523 CE) indicates that *ossilegium* derives from the Greek ὀστολόγιον (Laistner 1965), suggesting that the Greek term or a Latin cognate were long used in Rome. Servius, in his 4th century CE commentaries on Vergil, also should be noted (see Stocker and Travis 1965). One colleague suggests that *ossilegium* is now being used by biblical scholars to refer to "a specific type of Jewish secondary burial practice". Sextus Pompeius Festus uses the term *ossifraga* in several contexts (see in Lindsay 1965, 99 line 23, 420 line 17 and 421 line 1; also Laistner 1965, 238). In addition to the placement of an intact corpse on the pyre, there have been some suggestions that the newly defleshed bones of the deceased may have been cremated, or that the skeletalized remains recovered from a burial may have been burned. Either of these two situations would result in pyroclastic alterations distinct from those found in most cremations, and are also distinct from 'quenched' cremations (cf. Becker 1982).

[3] Museum curation of the relatively intact burned bones, such as recovered from the Le Rose necropolis at Tarquinia (Becker Mss. A, C) and other early sites, enables extremely accurate evaluations of these sets of remains. The cultural changes through time and space that are reflected in the use of cremation does not support Noy's (2000b, 190) suggestion that bodies were reduced to "avoid the corpse being further defiled, by animals or enemies." Few ethnographic accounts of the cremation process are known, but fictional accounts may provide useful descriptions of the various aspects of these mortuary processes (*e.g.* Sharma 2000, 146, 148 for modern Hindus in India).

The general use of a large and difficult-to-produce cinerary container for each member of a society argues for relatively egalitarian status. The rare use of small but interestingly shaped hut urns along with a wide variety of high status items suggests that the people interred in them may have represented a class of 'chiefs.' The bones from an elite individual buried in a hut urn of the Iron Age (Bartoloni *et al.* 1987; also Becker 1993b, 2005b) required special treatment to reduce the volume of their bones to fit into these unusual and relatively small containers (Noy 2000a, 30, and see below). Comminution, or the deliberate reduction of the skeletal volume through pounding or otherwise crushing the bones (Bowmer and Molleson 1986), was once widespread and common. When hut urns came into use, crushing appears to have been an elite prerogative while ordinary folk appear to have been buried in biconical urns. Eventually crushing re-emerged as a norm among many peoples, and the sizes of containers needed for these *ossilegia* was much reduced. When crushing was common even the bones of cremated individuals destined for larger containers such as the large Calabrese urn from Cerveteri, in which the remains of an adolescent were buried (Becker 1998a), commonly were subjected to comminution although there was no need to process the bones in that fashion. The Calabrese example suggests that this procedure became incorporated within normal mortuary rituals, although variations among cities may have existed and remain to be recognized.

Cremations of later periods commonly were interred in smaller urns than were the norm during the Villanovan era. The *ossilegium* of some low status people could be deposited in relatively small containers. Invariably these less elaborate cremations used simple ceramic *ollae* of perhaps 5,000 cc volume, small wooden containers (see below), or specially made ceramic vessels of similar size (generally under 10,000 cc) to hold these remains. The approximate volume of the larger ceramic cinerary chests used at Chiusi generally exceed 10,000 cc (see in Rastrelli 2000), but most of the wheel turned cinerary urns from Chiusi have volumes of under 5,000 cc (Becker 2001, see also Becker 1996a). The use of leather bags as well as wooden or basketry containers to hold an *ossilegium* has been inferred from findings of piles of cremated bones in loose heaps within tombs at Tarquinia (cf. below). The sizes of wooden, leather, or even basket containers may have varied greatly, but in general they were rather small. Perishable containers would have been used commonly for lower status members of a household, and the space allotted to them in the tomb would be correspondingly small.

Attention continues to be largely directed in Etruria to gleaning information from inhumed bones (cf. Cresta and Vecchi 1969; Borgognoni Tarli 1975; Mallegni, Fornaciari and Tarabella 1980; Fornaciari and Mallegni 1986). Cremated skeletal remains now are more likely to be recovered from Italic archaeological contexts, but the detailed analyses of these materials have only recently become the subject of detailed investigations (see Bowmer and Molleson 1986; Becker 1987; Bartoloni *et al.* 1987). Emphasis on the bones and any artifacts as important sources of mortuary information[4] has overshadowed the discussion of other contents in cinerary containers as evidence for local funerary customs. The presence or absence of wood ash and other pyre related materials helps us to contextualize more effectively the cremated bone within the specific society of which the once living person was a part and enables us to infer aspects of the mortuary programs involved.

Gathering the ossilegium

A great number of variations in the cremation process existed at different times and at different places throughout Italy. These even include incomplete cremation achieved by 'quenching' the pyre before the burning had been completed (Gualtieri 1982; Becker 1982). McKinley (1994a) conservatively noted that studies of cremated bone normally describe their post-excavation state. We can, however, examine the materials accompanying the bone to reconstruct aspects of the mortuary ritual that take us back to the end of the cremation process itself. Once the pyre has burned itself out, the gathering of the remains may begin. We infer that some special attention may have been paid by the ancients to the remains of each cremated individual (cf. Musgrave 1990, 286). Note has been made of cremation rituals that gather much if not most of the boney remains and deposit them within a container sufficiently large to hold the entire skeleton. Variations on this theme are known in various locations across a wide chronological range. A brief description of the probable sequence of burning and collecting of the skeletal remains from Tarquinia Tomb 6322 enables us to understand the taphonomic processes involved in this specific process, and probably others of the same period and social class at Tarquinia.

[4] See Vanzetti 1991; Becker and Donadio 1992; Bondioli, Salvadei and Formenti 1994, fig. 1; Becker 1995, 1997a, Ms. A.

The post-burning cremation process includes comminution, placement in a protective container of some type, plus burial. This process is followed by in-ground deterioration and damage during recovery. If the bones were in a perishable container, the excavation of a pile or scatter of bones is a problematical task. If the bones are within a container, then removal plus other post-excavation disturbances, including storage of various types (see esp. Pearce 1998), may further damage the remains. All of these factors bring us to the point at which the contents of a cinerary vessel arrive for examination. There are four considerations that Musgrave (1990, 284) notes as critical to the study of cremated human remains. These may be summarized as follows:

A. Do the remains of infants or children appear with the bones of adults (cf. Becker 2005c)?
B. Are double or multiple individuals represented, as was common at ancient Volterra (cf. Becker 2001)?
C. Have the remains been 'pounded' or otherwise deliberately crushed (*i.e.* comminution)?[5]
D. How much care had been devoted to collecting the remains from the pyre and to separating bone from wood ash? Is all the material shoveled into a container (*ossa et cineres*) or is the bone removed from the wood ash, and has the bone also been washed?

The last of these considerations probably should be listed first. Contemporary studies of the bones from a cremation tend to focus only on remains taken out of context. Such studies evaluate bone categories and provide specific weights for each region of the human skeleton represented. While this approach may provide an indication of differential survival, more likely this reflects the random process of bone recovery from the pyre. The presence of only a few bits of bone in a cinerary vessel also may reflect modern division of an urn's contents by dealers in antiquities, who may have divided the *ossilegium* from one container into several urns to give empty examples an air of authenticity. While the bones have been divided into categories (*e.g.* 'long bones'), the tabulation of absolute weights of these categories remains undone;

[5] McKinley (1994a) notes the effects on bones in British examples where comminution does not appear to have been part of the mortuary process. The apparent lack of comminution among the examples examined by McKinley (1994b) lead us to wonder what became of those bones that would not fit within a small container.

since we expect differential weights according to gender, this data would be especially useful.

Attempts at weight classification of cremated bone is also complicated by problems associated with earth penetration, types and degrees of cleaning, and bone loss through deterioration in the cleaning process.

Archaeologically, we need to examine the 'context' of the container and *all* that it holds. Too often physical anthropologists are treated as specialists without archaeological training, suited only for evaluation of human bone. This is not an acceptable dichotomy as the actual excavation of the cinerary container, as any other locus of an excavation, requires both archaeological expertise as well as the complex skills involved in the evaluation of human remains. Where remains have already been removed from context, and that data set is lost, we may separate out these areas of expertise.[6] Fortunately, in the case of the small pot used as a container for the bones in Tarquinia Tomb 6322, we were able to evaluate the entire context within the olla.

An interesting observation regarding disturbed bones may be useful in understanding this process. Some cremated bones in their sealed burial containers have been found to be in a remarkably clean condition, suggesting that portions of the *ossilegium* had been picked out of the ashes and perhaps even washed before being placed into the urn. When bones are found crushed into small bits we may infer that the relatively large pieces from the *ossilegium* had been on a relatively clean surface for comminution. Cleaned bones are very different from those mixed with large amounts of gray ash and/or bits of carbonized wood, with the latter situation more common (Berggren 1996; Becker, Turfa and Algee, in press). Mixed urn contents suggest that the remains of the pyre were crushed on the *ustrinum* and the bone bits and ash were then shoveled directly into a container. An interesting point regarding possible preferences for ash-free bone is an observation from the 1st

[6] Post-mortem movement of cremated remains from tomb contexts is indicated by other evidence. Quite commonly we see green or blue-green 'bronze' stains on burned bones in containers in which no metals are detected. This suggests that objects may have been removed from among the *ossilegium*, or that the bones may have been held at some point in a copper alloy container and later relocated to the context from which we know them. A notable example is the bone in a vessel at The University Museum, Philadelphia (MS 2860) on which a blue-green color appears on the cancellous interior aspect of a cremated bone fragment, but not on any surface feature of the surviving skeleton (Becker, Turfa, and Algee, in press). At some point after burning these remains were in contact with some type of copper or copper alloy, and subsequently found their way into this vessel.

century CE indicating that clean bones may have been retrieved from the pyre by use of then new technology. Pliny notes the use of a funeral shroud woven from the long fibers of asbestos that could be used in this task. Deposits of asbestos, a non-combustible mineral that occurs naturally in a fibrous state, are fairly common in the Mediterannean region. The long fibers of asbestos can be fashioned into rough threads that can be woven into a fabric that will not burn.[7] Placing an asbestos blanket between a body to be burned and the pyre keeps the bone separate from the ash and wood of the pyre. These osseous remains then could be gathered up simply by picking up the blanket from the burned material beneath it. Pliny the Elder writes (*HN* 19. 4):

> Also a linen has now been invented that is incombustible. It is called 'live' linen, and I have seen napkins made of it glowing on the hearths at banquets and burnt more brilliantly clean by the fire than they could be by being washed in water. This linen is used for making shrouds for royalty which keep the ashes of the corpse separate from the rest of the pyre.... The Greek name for it is *asbestinon*, derived from its peculiar property.[8]

Tarquinia Tomb 6322

Recovery

The specific treatment afforded the burned bones from the simple cremation of the person recovered from Tarquinia Tomb 6322 provides the subject of this study (cf. Becker 1998b). The basic treatment of these bones may be taken as an indication of typical processing of each cremation placed by the Etruscans and probably their Roman neighbors in a small, unspecialized container. The results of this study are presented together with insights provided by the analysis of the bone as it was 'excavated' from the urn. In a few recent cases intact cinerary containers have been recovered and the contents 'excavated' by physical anthropologists (*e.g.* Becker and Salvadei 1992; McKinley 1994a). This procedure offers a more clear view of the cremation process as it existed in antiquity, undistorted by damage to the container or by the search for objects within the urn other than the human

[7] The British Museum has an example of Etruscan asbestos textile, Inventory G.&R.A. 52–1–12.10. Noted by Granger-Taylor 1982, 23 note 2.

[8] Loeb Classical Library, trans. H. Rackham.

bone. Since most of the individual cremations that have been carefully studied during removal from their small containers are Anglo-Saxon or Romano-British in origin, this single example from Tarquinia provides an important Etruscan parallel, and a basis by which we may generalize to cremations of lower status individuals at Tarquinia *c*. 400 BCE. In this example from Tarquinia the container is a typical cooking pot or *olla*. From the Iron Age into the Christian period this category of ovoid domestic vessel commonly served as an urn to hold the *ossilegium*. The minor variations in rim shape and body profiles used for these pots have not yet been decoded in such a way as to enable accurate dates to be assigned to them (Dyson 1976).

In 1990 broad surface flooding of the type called 'sheet wash,' from unusually heavy rains, deeply scoured the surface of a section of one of the many burial areas at Tarquinia. The *Soprintendenza Archeologica per Etruria Meridionale* took immediate action to recover information from the many tombs exposed in this part of the Carraccio Rogani (proprietà Rogani) necropolis area. Tomb 6322, excavated on 11 June 1991, was found among many large chamber tombs as well as many other smaller varieties of chamber tombs. This tomb was a modified *pozzo* tomb that had been dug into the bedrock (Cataldi 2005). Within the small hole was a single small Etruscan cremation urn of the period *c*. 425–375 BCE (Becker 2002, 694).

In this example the urn is a small olla with a restricted neck. This is the typical cooking vessel of central Italy and is a type commonly used for cremation burials. Within this urn, or what the Romans called an *ossuarium*, were fragments of bone indicating the presence of one adult. The container of T. 6322 resembles the olla of T. 6094 as well as the urn of T. 6097 (Cavagnaro Vanoni 2002, 385, fig. 9, no. 1; 397, fig. 22). Note should be made that at least one other single burial of approximately the same period as T. 6322 also held a cremated female (T. 6319: see Becker 1997a) and was recovered from the same area of Tarquinia (see Cavagnaro Vanoni 2002). Slight variations in the forms of the simple urns holding these bones may help in providing even more specific dates for each of these burials. Most of the other cremations recovered from Tarquinia come from large chamber tombs, all apparently dating from after 580 BCE and before 90 BCE (Becker 1998b; but see Vargiu and Becker 2005). Most of the cremations from Tarquinia recovered between 1987 and 1995 were studied as part of M. Cataldi's recent program of research (Cataldi 2005; Becker Ms. B).

The relatively intact urn provided the excavators with the opportunity to leave it *in situ* within this small tomb, in order to have it excavated by the on-site physical anthropologist. Although the urn in T. 6322 had fractured while buried, allowing a few fragments of bone to migrate into the surrounding soil, the contents were generally undisturbed. Those few bits dislodged from the urn were recovered during excavation of the tomb. Thus the bones could be studied as they were being removed from the urn. The goal of this excavation of the urn, or the first step in the recovery of the bones, differs from the ultimate goal of providing age and sex information. This 'mini-excavation' was intended to determine the processes used to reduce these remains after cremation and to place them within the urn before it had been interred.

Method of Study

The skeletal material was taken from the field while still within the vessel. Detailed notes were taken during the removal of the material remaining in the container, especially relating to bone size and category. The recovered *ossilegium* was evaluated in the laboratory using methods described previously (Becker 1987, 1998a, 2005b; Becker and Salvadei 1992; Bondioli, Salvadei and Formenti 1994). The usual procedure for the disturbed contents of a cinerary container involves sifting all materials to separate earth and possibly ash from bone (cf. McKinley 1993). The fragments are then sorted by the part of the body represented, and by size, for evaluation and possible re-assembly (see also van Vark 1970).

Findings

Tomb 6322, a *tomba a buca* (Cataldi 2005) was found just outside the entry to a large chamber tomb. Unclear is whether this small *tomba* had been buried under the tumulus as a separate burial and predated it, was included within the fill of the tumulus at the time of its construction as if a grave offering (or casual disposal), or if it was later intruded through the tumulus or placed nearby. The considerable quantity of wood ash found surrounding the bones in the small vessel from Tomb 6322 suggests that the bones were not separated from the ash before being subjected to crushing. The presence of ash suggests that the burned bones remained on the *ustrinum* where they, along with the ash of the pyre, were crushed together, probably by a large wooden roller. The mix of crushed bone and wood ash, or a moderate portion of it,

could be scooped up using a wooden shovel and deposited directly into the burial urn. The weight of the bone recovered from Tomb 6322, approximately 1.2 kg, is below the expected range produced by an adult skeleton, possibly even that of a small adult female. The small volume and weight of the surviving bone, the absence of many fragments of tooth roots, and the very small number of cranial elements all suggest that only a portion of the surviving material was gathered into the small container provided for them. The remainder, crushed into fragments perhaps recognizable only by a specialist or possibly too small to permit visual identification, may have been swept away in clearing the *ustrinum* for the next customer.

The only person in this simple burial of the period 425–375 BCE was a female who died at age *c*. 50 years (Becker 1997a, 2002, 694). The actual excavation of the *ossilegium*, or collected 'bones' placed within this urn provides interesting evidence that enables us to reconstruct some of the details involved in the cremation process. An understanding of this aspect of mortuary programs provides us with greater insights into the daily lives of these people, and in particular into gender and status differences within Etruscan society.

Evaluation of these bones and the accompanying ash also found within the urn indicated clearly that the skeletal material was not separated from the remains of the wood used for the pyre. The burned human remains were not picked out from the ashes to form a separate *ossilegium*, but rather were processed while still lying together with thoroughly combusted wood ash on the *ustrinum*. These burned bones had been subjected to considerable comminution by a process required, or selected, whenever a small urn was provided to the operators as the container for the recovered remains. Since these vessels are small, relative to a complete adult human *ossilegium*, the skeletal mass must be reduced in volume (or selectively recovered) in order that the pieces are small enough to be scooped up and poured into within the small urn. The bones within this vessel weigh less than 1.2 kg and are heavily impregnated and coated with ash and earth. The surrounding materials have considerably distorted (increased) the weight of the surviving 'dry bone' of this cremation. From the degree to which these bones have been vitrified and retain their form, and from their uniform light color, it is evident that the temperature of the pyre had been in the range of 950 degrees Centigrade.

In Tarquinia Tomb 6322, except for two fragments of long bone, each *c*. 4 cm in length, the largest pieces of bone recovered measure

about 3 cm. Most measure less than 1 cm in length. All of the surviving bone appears to have been carefully crushed to allow the remains to be shoveled into the assigned container. The comminution process must have been very efficient, and obviously took place on the *ustrinum* since the bone fragments are completely covered by the gray ash indicating a high temperature fire. Despite crushing, many of these small bits easily can be identified. Of importance in understanding this cremation process is the observation that the broken bones were not further damaged while in the urn, nor by activities involved in their recovery or post-recovery storage.

Critical to the determination of the sex of the person in T. 6322 is the evaluation of age at death. The delicate bones of adolescents of either sex may be confused with small adult females.[9] In T. 6322 the dozen identified pieces of the calotte include three with evidence for cranial sutures. All are open to some degree on the exterior surface, but completely fused on the inner table. Visual inspection confirms that the fractures follow the lines of the sutures, suggesting that closure had not reached the exterior of the skull. This suggests an age at death of approximately 50 years. The generally gracile appearance of most of the bone fragments from T. 6322 suggests that these are the remains of a female. The most diagnostic single skeletal element is a portion of right tibia shaft at the point of the nutrient foramen, where two pieces of this skeleton were joined to form a 70 mm long piece of this bone. The overall size appears to be in the range of a small female. This observation is supported by examination of most of the other fragments where the cortex is generally quite thin. The gracile cranial bits, small size of the tooth sockets in the two pieces with alveolar margins (both mandibular and maxillary), and the small size of the five actual fragments of tooth roots all indicate that this person most probably is female. Some of the long bone shaft fragments are sufficiently robust

[9] Aside from the few studies of cremated children associated with *tophets*, very little has been done to evaluate the remains of children from the more than 60 infant or perinatal cemeteries known on the Italian peninsula (cf. Becker 1997bc, 2005c). Cremations from Pithekoussai provide us with insights into Greek colonial activities, and the extent to which subadults are found among these remains. How these relate to the sub-floor infant 'cremations' known from the area of the Athenian agora of the 5th–3rd centuries BCE remains to be investigated (see Jordan and Rotroff 1999, 152; also Becker 2007). Pontecagnano Tomb 1057 represents a child age 5.5 years (600–575 BCE, Becker 1995b), but subadult burials are not commonly known from necropolis at that site. Recent studies demonstrate that in Etruria children who died below age 5.5 years were buried in specialized cemeteries (Becker 2005c).

to fall within the male range. A single section of rib is quite robust (diameters 16.1 by 6.8 mm), but within the female range. No other sections of rib survive, although a few slivers can be recognized. We conclude that these remains are of a female of middle age.

The two bits of surviving jaw also provide some insights into the dental health. A small piece of mandible has portions of the alveolar margins of the sockets intact, indicating that two teeth, probably both left incisors, were present at death. A maxillary fragment indicates that the right canine also was in place. The root fragments noted also demonstrate that at least two molars were present, so that at least five teeth were in situ when this person died. There is no evidence in the alveolar area to suggest that any teeth had been lost before death. This single individual, therefore, may be considered to have enjoyed good dental health.[10]

Cremation Process Reconstructed for Tomb 6322

Cremation rituals vary through time and space, and particularly relevant to the status of the deceased. As early as the Iron Age, elite members of society were afforded rites distinct from others. The single individual buried in Tarquinia Tomb 6322, dated to the period at the end of the 5th or early in the 4th century BCE, reflects a low status individual in every aspect of her burial. The small urn, apparently a used cooking pot, and placement in a small pit on the surface in the area of large, high status tombs suggest a very humble grave indeed. The proximity to large tombs could reflect interment within the earthen mound covering one of the large, bedrock tombs. However, centuries of looting

[10] No *os resectum* (terminal finger bone) was found among the bone fragments from T. 6322 (cf. Becker 1988). However, two extremely small fragments of unburned and demineralized bone were found adjacent to the urn in which the cremation was held. These could not be determined to be either human or animal (cf. Whyte 2001). The possibility must be considered that an earlier inhumation may have been present in this area, and that it was disturbed by the excavators. More likely these bones represent a grave offering made in the area, or simply random pieces of bone, either human or animal, such as are common in cemetery areas.

A small, twisted bit of bronze was found among the bones, approximately one-third the distance down from the top of the upper level of the bones while in the urn. This metal may be the remains of a bronze fibula, suggesting that this person was wearing normal dress at the time of cremation rather than being wrapped in a shroud unless a fibula also served as a shroud pin. No ceramic or other artifacts of a non-perishable nature are indicated by other findings among these bones.

ending with the flooding that denuded a swath of bedrock along this hillside removed any information that might have provided a better context for this burial.

While we can reconstruct the mechanical process of cremation, comminution and burial for the lower classes, we do not know anything about undertakers in Etruria and how much a service like that would have cost the poor. However, we do have some analogous information in the Roman context. John Bodel's (1994) excellent overview of the social and economic aspects of funerary activities, based on his useful interpretation of Bove's (1966) publication of a set of funerary laws from Pozzuoli, tells us much about pyre-burners and other practitioners engaged in the business of death. The locations of these business enterprises, the residences of funeral workers, roles played by flute players, and other participants also are discussed in detail by Bodel (1994, 50), as are their relationship to Libitina, the Roman goddess of funerals.

Interpretation of the Cremated Remains from Tomb 6322: Votive-like Offerings

The complex psychological interactions affecting the survivors of a death are much discussed in modern psychiatric literature. The desire for self-aggression, a manifestation of both grief and survivor guilt, often takes the form of 'self sacrifice', in the giving of tomb offerings, the sacrifice of animals, or even the 'mild' self mutilation represented by the cutting off of hair (Sourvinou-Inwood 1983, 41). Numerous other forms of self aggression connected with modern Greek mourning rituals, such as scratching or tearing of "breasts, neck, face and hair" also are discussed by Souvinou-Inwood (1983, 37), who notes how these activities reflect social attitudes toward death (see also Burkert 1972, 64–66). More extreme cases of self aggression noted from other modern cultures involve the offering of a finger joint from the living (see Becker 1986, 1996b), and of blood letting as practiced by the ancient Maya of Central America. On the basis of my research with cremations, the *os resectum* noted in several Roman texts can be identified as a finger joint removed from a person about to be cremated (Becker 1988, note 5). While removal of a terminal finger joint from a corpse may be significantly different than a live donation such as known in a number of ethnographic situations, the concepts are strongly linked. The sacrifice of humans to accompany the dead, strongly associated with ancient chiefdoms, also has been detected through the analysis of cremated skeletal remains (Becker 1993a).

Etruscan funerary behaviors can be compared with Homeric descriptions of the process and with data from archaeological findings of the 8th century BCE. Sourvinou-Inwood (1983, 38) provides a useful reference enabling us to understand how mourners achieve a "symbolic, partial identification with the deceased…" Certainly Etruscan tombs, with their offerings and reuse, reflect a direct and continuing connection between the living and the dead, beginning with complex interment rituals and continuing with commemorative banquets, *etc*.

The wide variations in wealth and/or status at Tarquinia that had developed by the end of the 5th century BCE can be seen in the many different types of tombs from that period. Tomb 6322 is among the simplest of that period. Comparing the later range of burial forms with the relatively small variation in size among most of the cinerary urns used in the Villanovan period enables us to infer a considerable shift in socio-political structure. By the 5th century the chiefdoms of the Early Iron Age had developed, perhaps through contacts with Greek mercantile peoples and other influences from beyond the Etruscan homeland, into incipient city-states. The transition to incipient political states in Etruria is now being revealed through multiple lines of evidence (cf. Wason 1994). Etruscan material culture commonly mimicked imported goods, and monumental architecture incorporated elements from abroad. Perhaps most telling are the varied uses of written forms of the language. The magical aspects of the written word dominated the use of texts for communication at a distance, or as means by which 'political statements' could be made. Written claims to kingship and royal lineage, commonly associated with public monuments, are critical diagnostic elements in the recognition of emerging states. Identifying these features in Etruria may reveal that the individual Etruscan polities retained traditional forms of socio-political structure.

The evidence from Tarquinia suggests that after 500 BCE adolescent and young adult males of the elite, and perhaps of all social classes, were being cremated. This finding should be considered in light of the unusual evidence from the people buried in Iron Age hut urns from the area of Castelgandolfo, now verified as being the remains of adolescent and young adult males (Cassoli and Tagliacozzo 1987; Bowmer and Molleson 1987; Becker 2005b). Hut urns from other areas appear to hold the remains of older and presumably high status males. The localized variation in the area of Castelgandolfo in the use of hut urns (cf. Becker 1992) during the Iron Age may relate to the pattern that re-emerges at Tarquinia after 500 BCE, or at least should be considered in our attempts to infer meaning from these patterns.

At one end of the scale there are the simple *pozzo* burials containing low status women. Low status adolescents and children may not have been buried in the vicinity of the large chamber tombs near Etruscan cities. Tomb 6322 from Tarquinia may be typical of disposal practices used for the many laboring women within a large household. These people probably were cremated wearing whatever garments or tatters worn in life, with the bones then deposited within pots that in life they may have stirred with wooden spoons. These simple interments may represent life at the low end of the range in an elite household, and are far from representing life at its most harsh in any traditional urban situation. The variations in mortuary programs at the major Etruscan site of Tarquinia at the end of the 5th century BCE reflect the growing complexity of status variables within each household (Becker 2000). The variations in the size of the large tombs at Tarquinia remain difficult to quantify, but may not indicate the hierarchical differences that might indicate the development of a simple state. The 'princely' tombs found could be described as those of 'Big Men' or 'chiefs' as a means of more accurately reflecting the organization of these early towns as centers of complex chiefdoms (Becker 1990). The kinds of social dynamics that characterize chiefdoms suggest that all people were cared for on some level. Status differences within an incipient Tarquinian state may be reflected, at the low end, by T. 6322, revealing that even the most humble person might be buried among or in the vicinity of elite tombs. The street people of later urban Rome, beggars and thieves alike, lived in a far more precarious state. Clearing the corpses of the destitute from the streets resulted in their being treated little different from the bodies of the dogs and horses that were cleared by 'sanitation workers,' who held a status not much higher than that of the beggars.

The social changes generated by economic expansion in Etruria created an ambiguity among these peoples as to where their best interests would be found. The power of the rapidly expanding Rome may have been less a factor in the absorption of the Etruscan towns than the attraction of the material and organizational benefits that became available to the Etruscan people. For the women serving even the most affluent households, or sustaining independent but impoverished families, life and death rituals were conducted at an economic level far removed from the elite whose tombs and trappings of wealth have for so long been the sole focus of scholarly attention.

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ILLUSTRATIONS SECTION

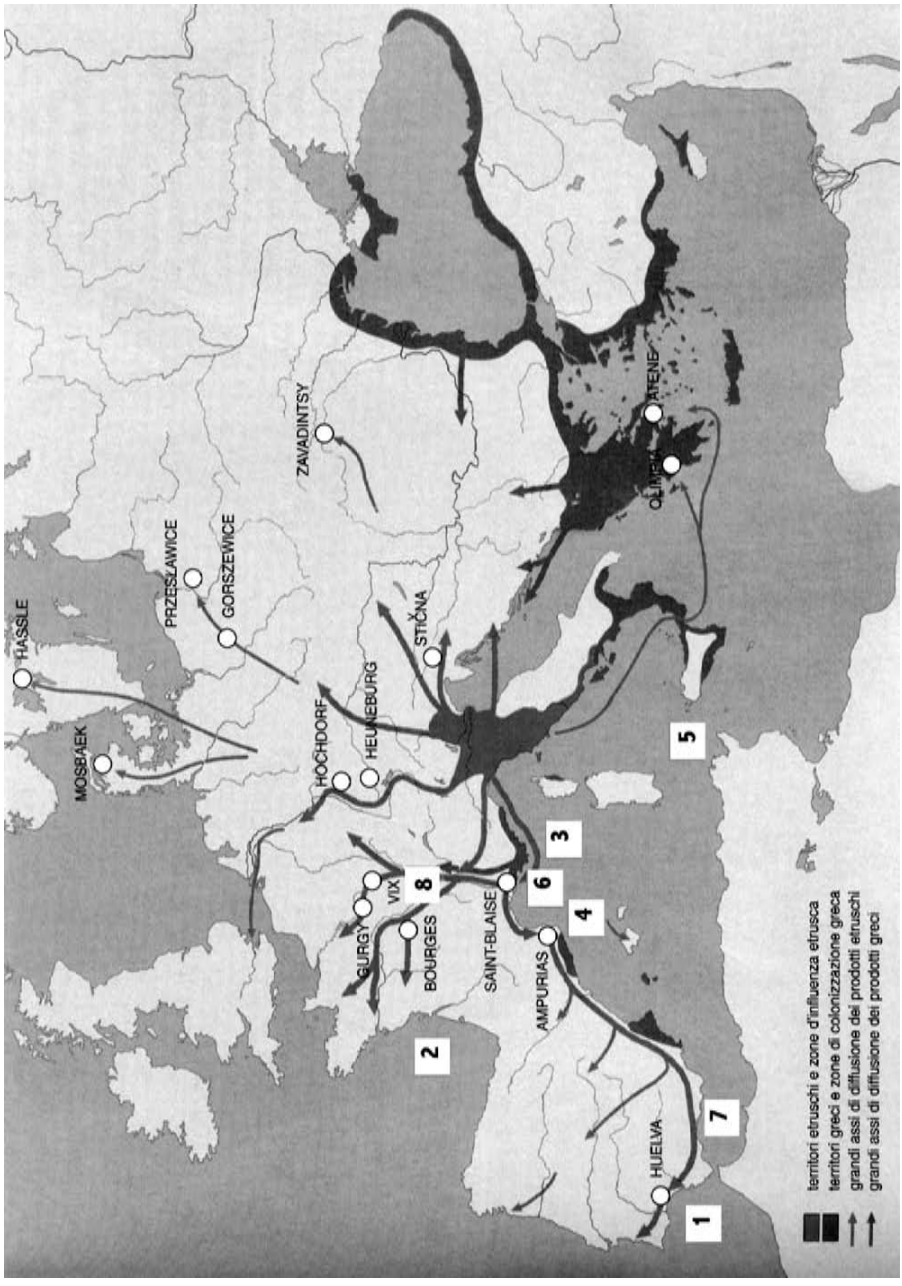

Figure 1. Sites d'Occident avec offrandes étrusques ou objets à caratère votif: 1, La Algaida; 2, Barzan; 3, Marseille; 4, Ampurias; 5, Carthage; 6, Saint-Blaise; 7, Malaga; 8, Vézelay, Fontaines-Salées. Fond de carte avec les principales zones d'influence et de diffusion d'objets étrusques (d'après Camporeale *et al.* 2001).

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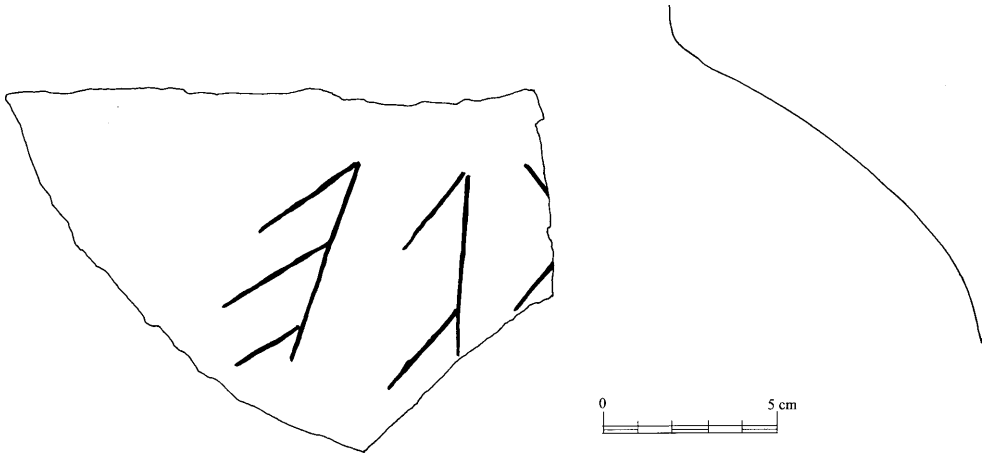

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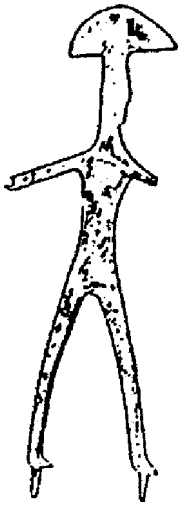

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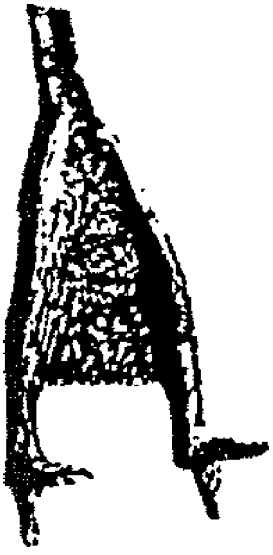

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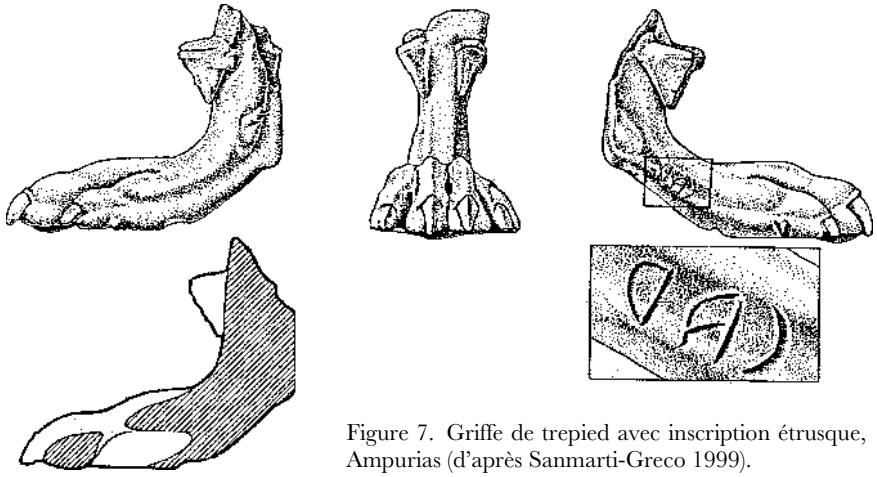

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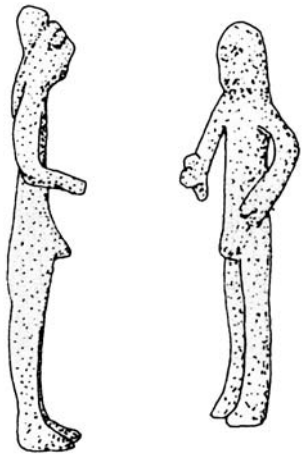

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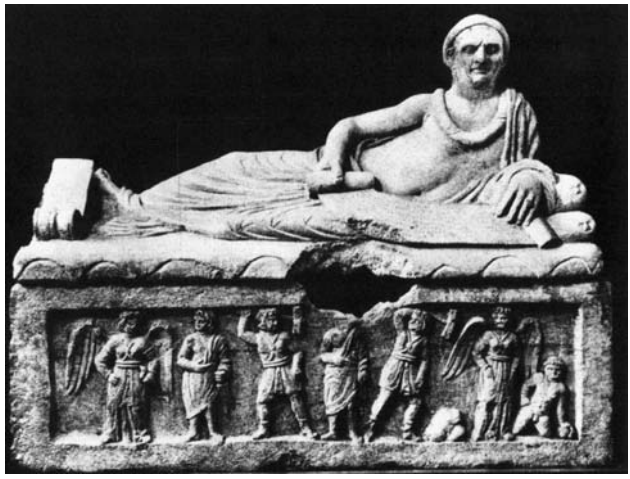

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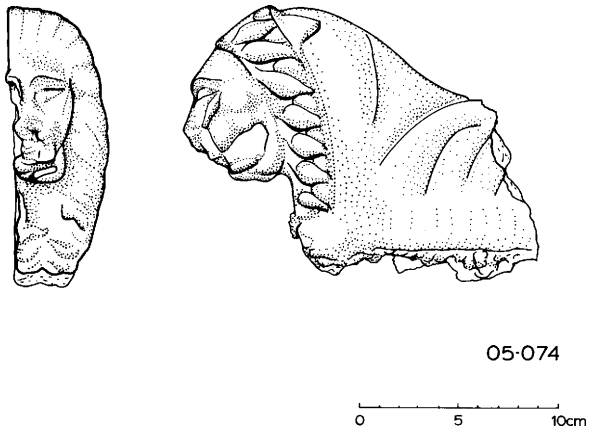

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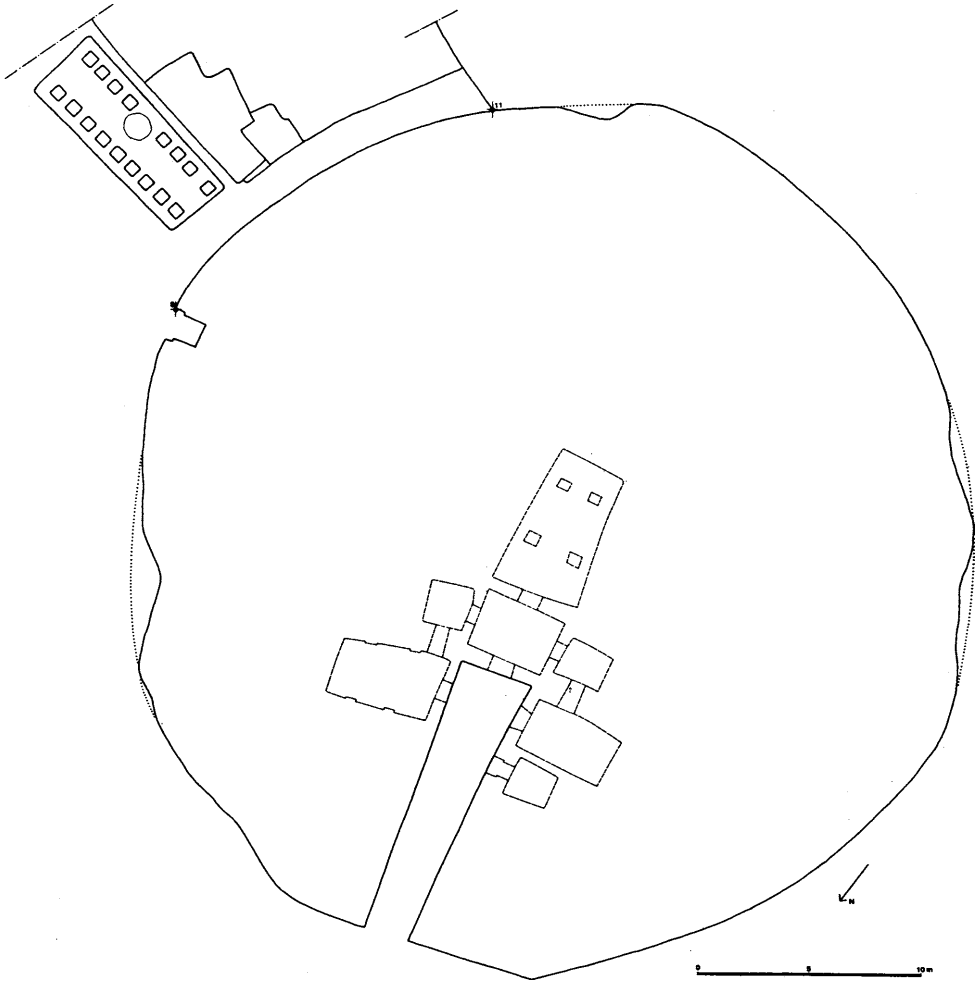

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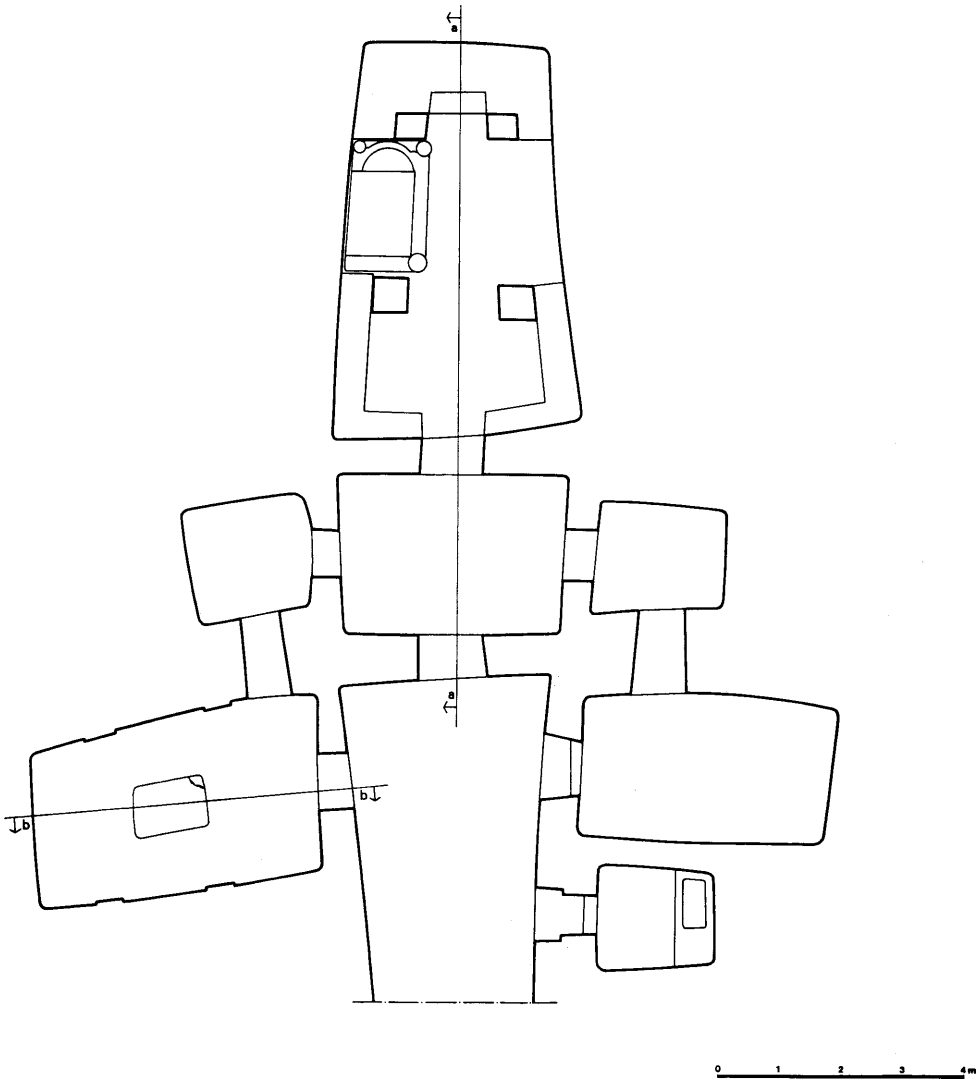

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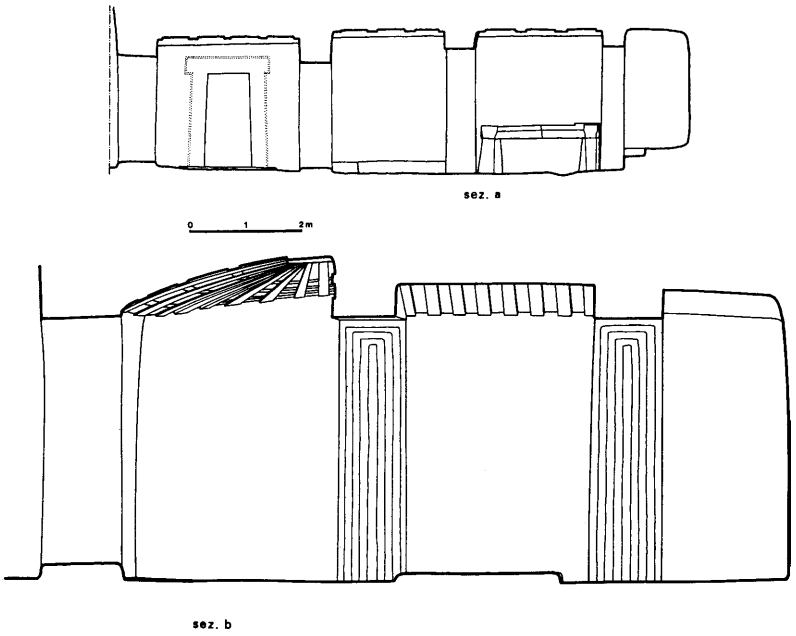

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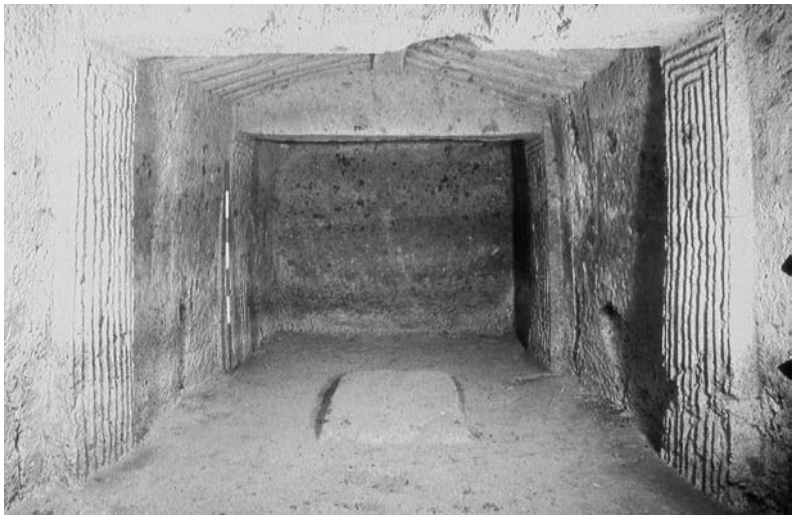

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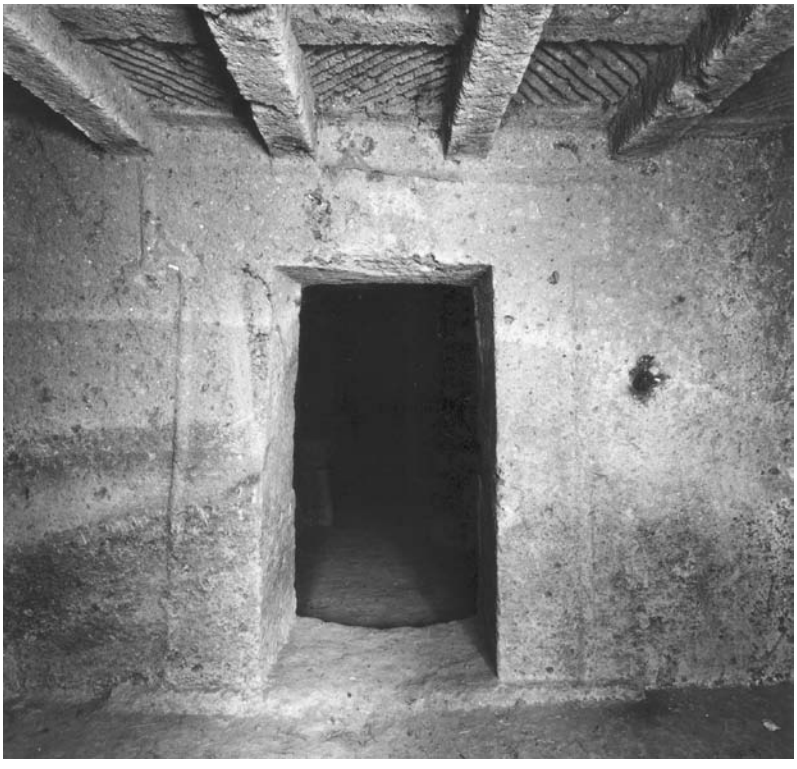

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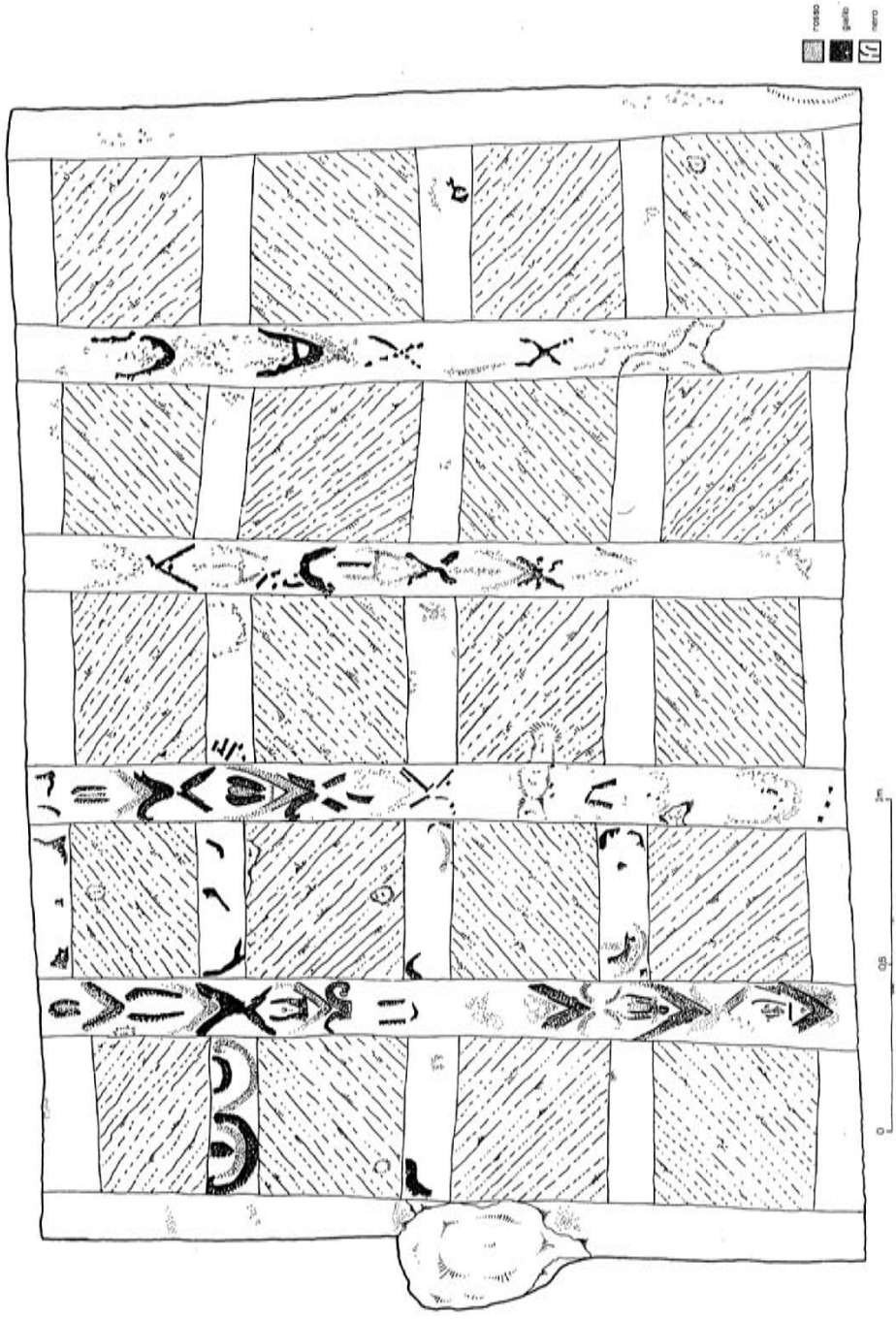

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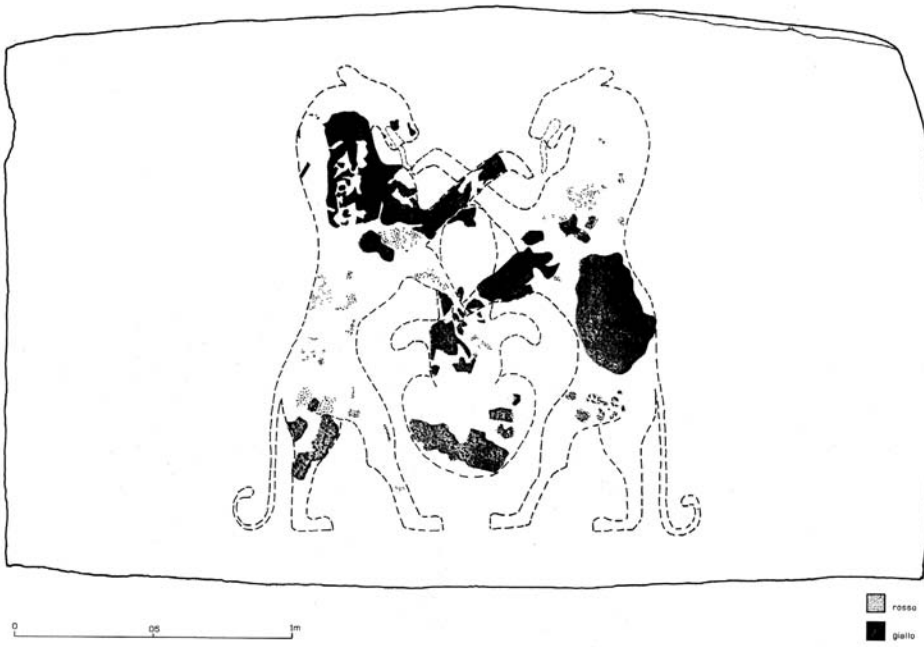

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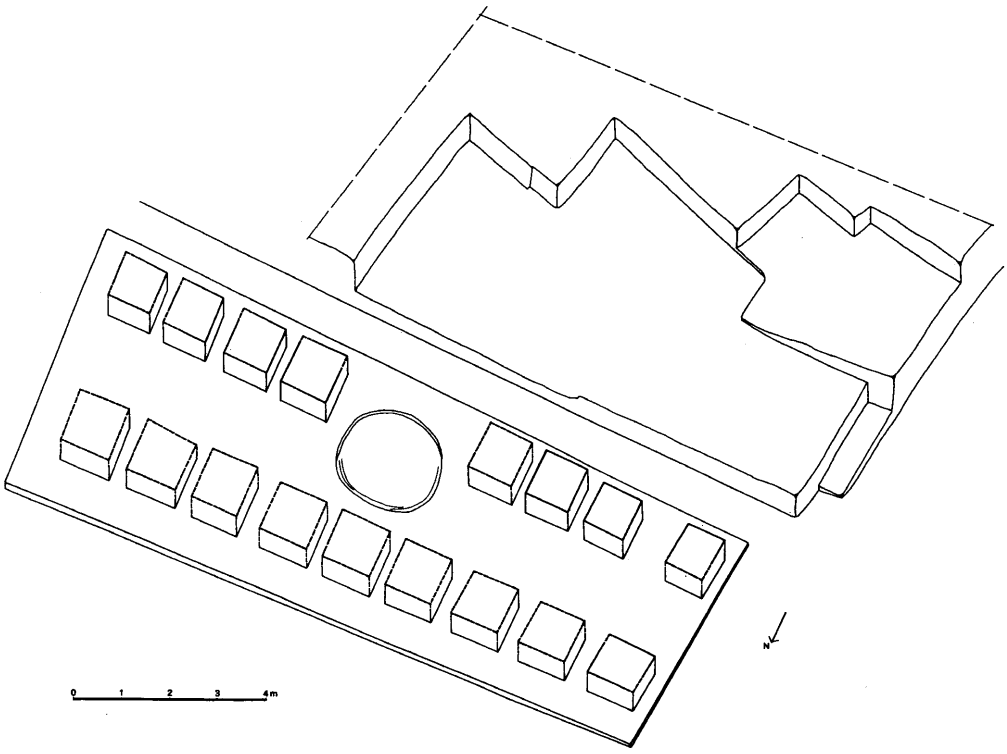

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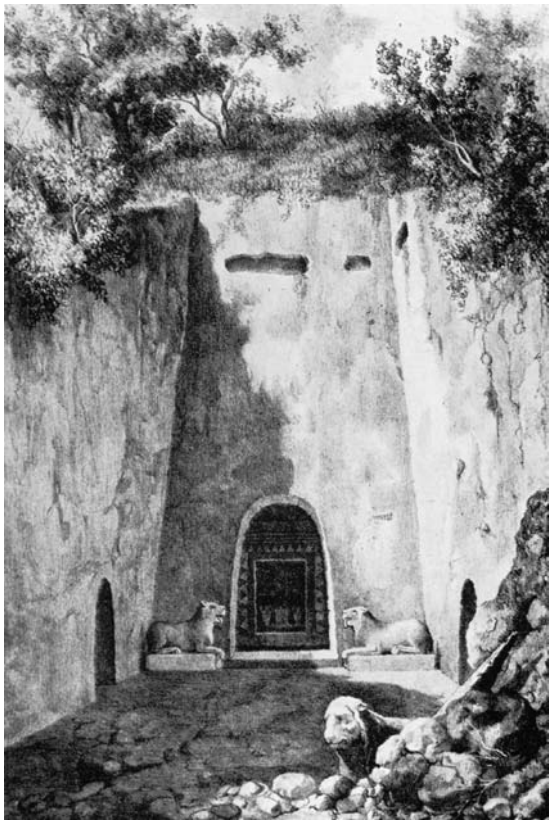

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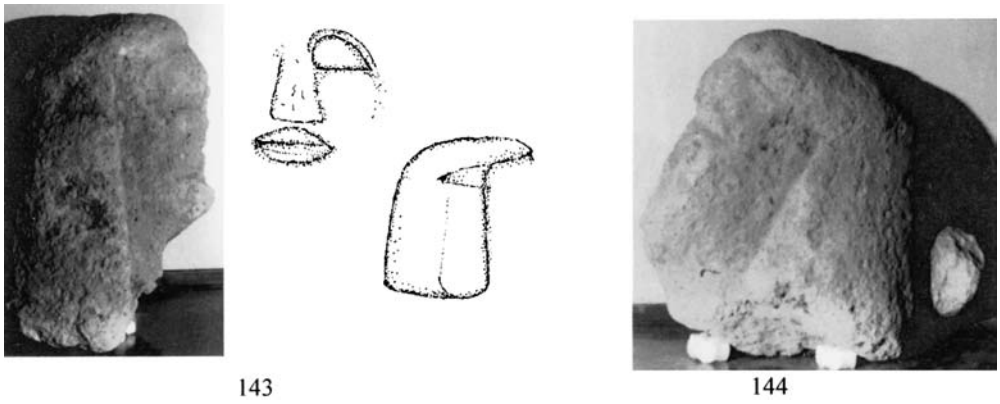

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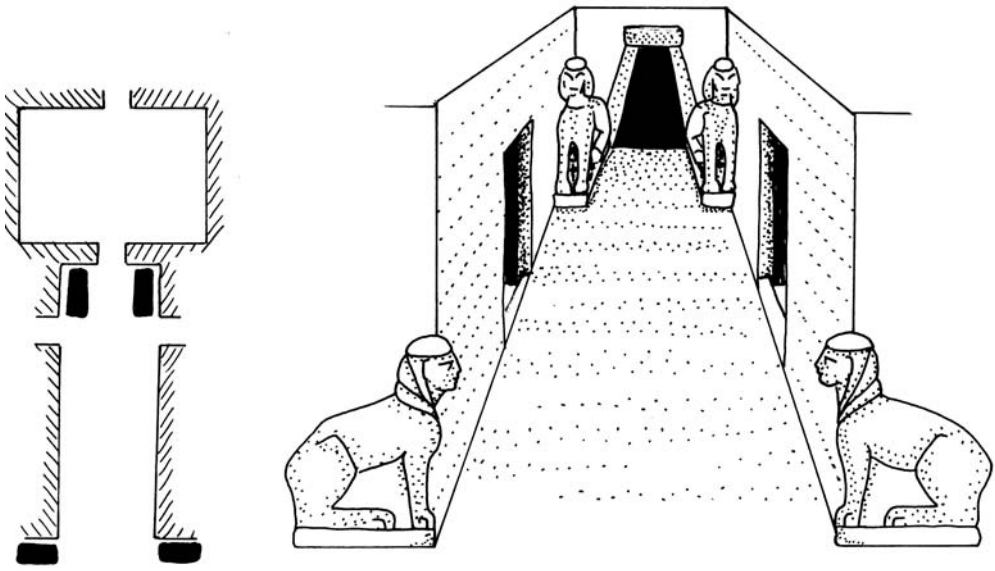

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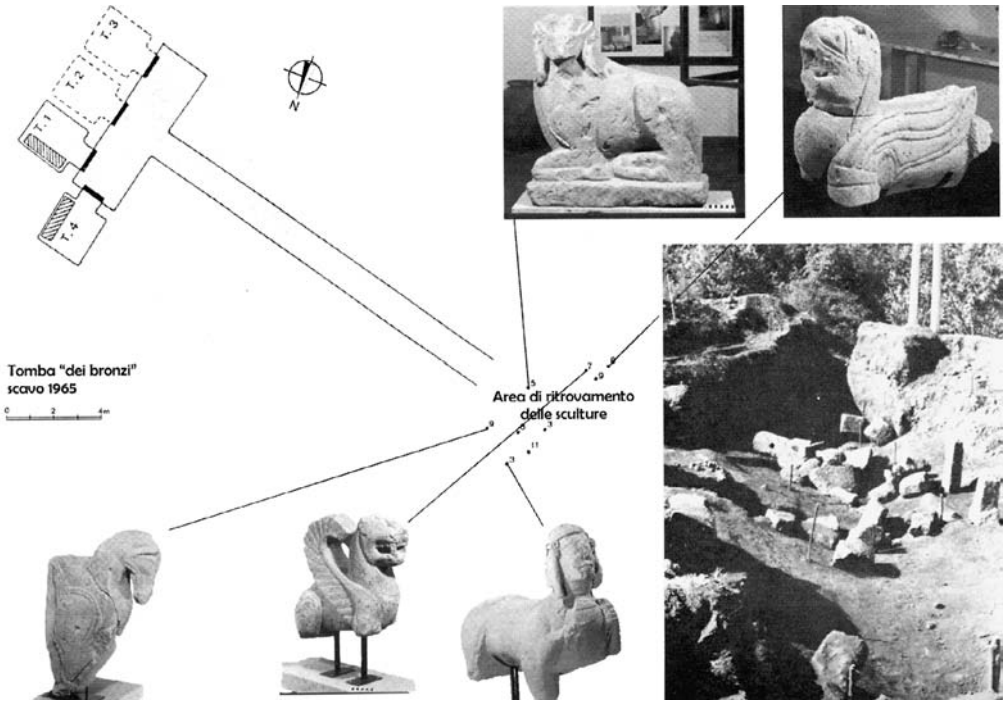

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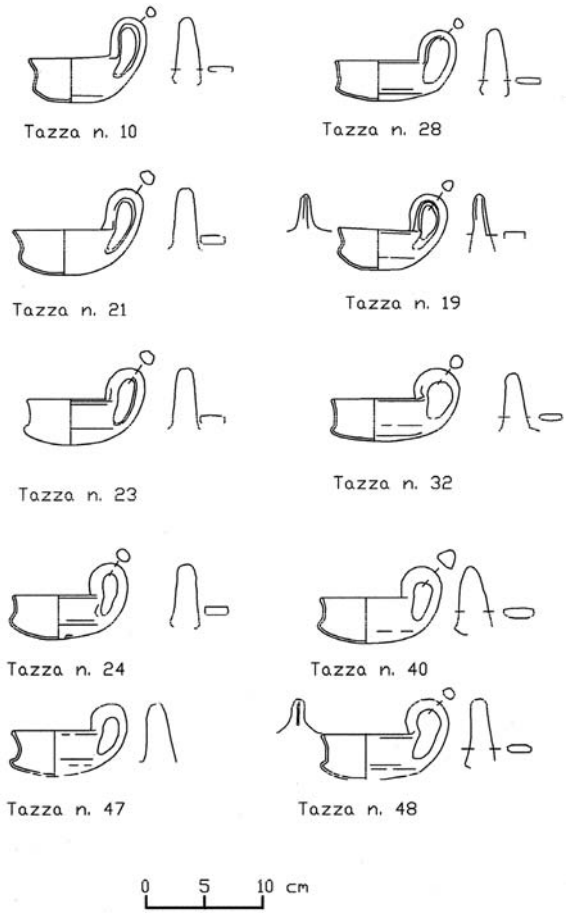

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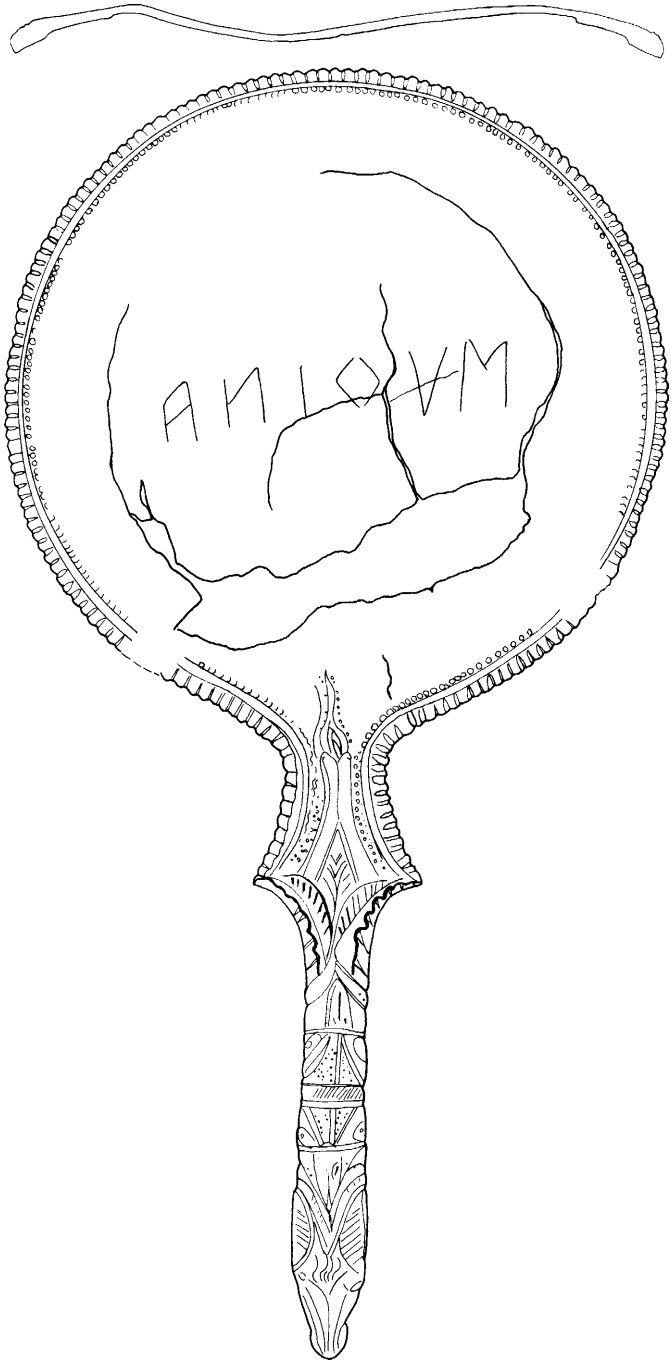

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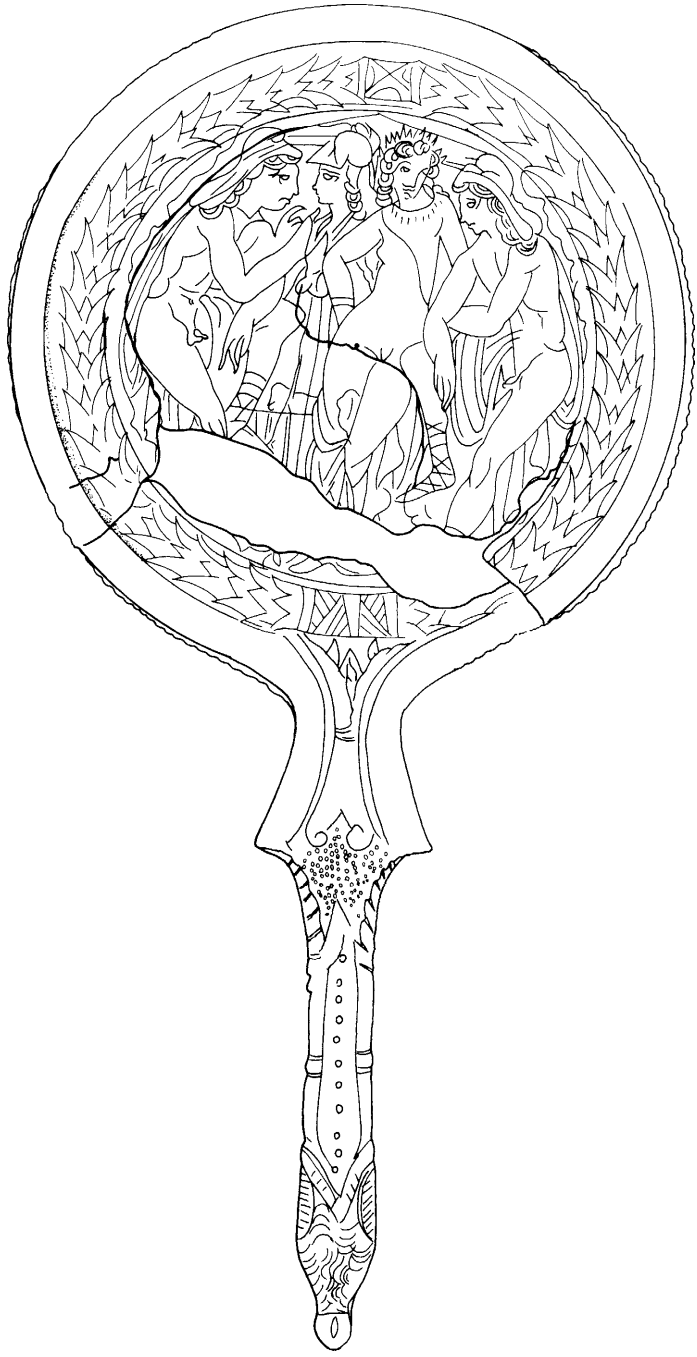

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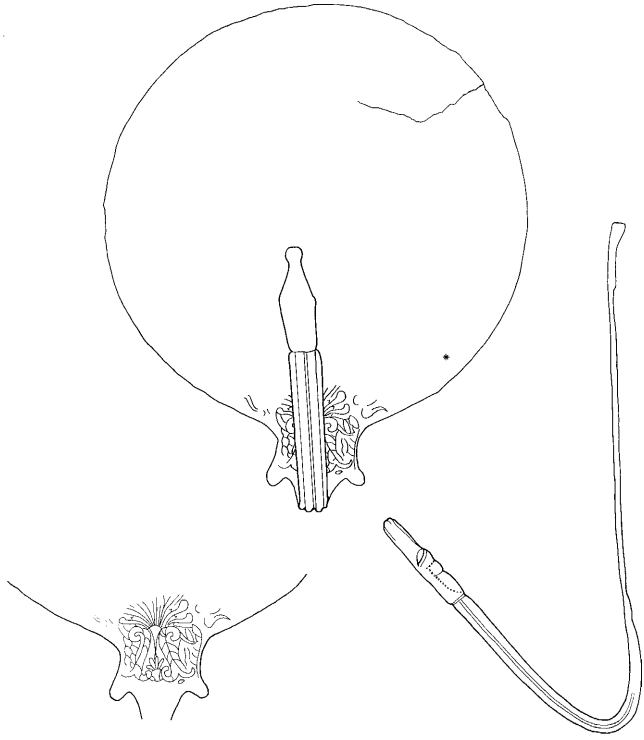

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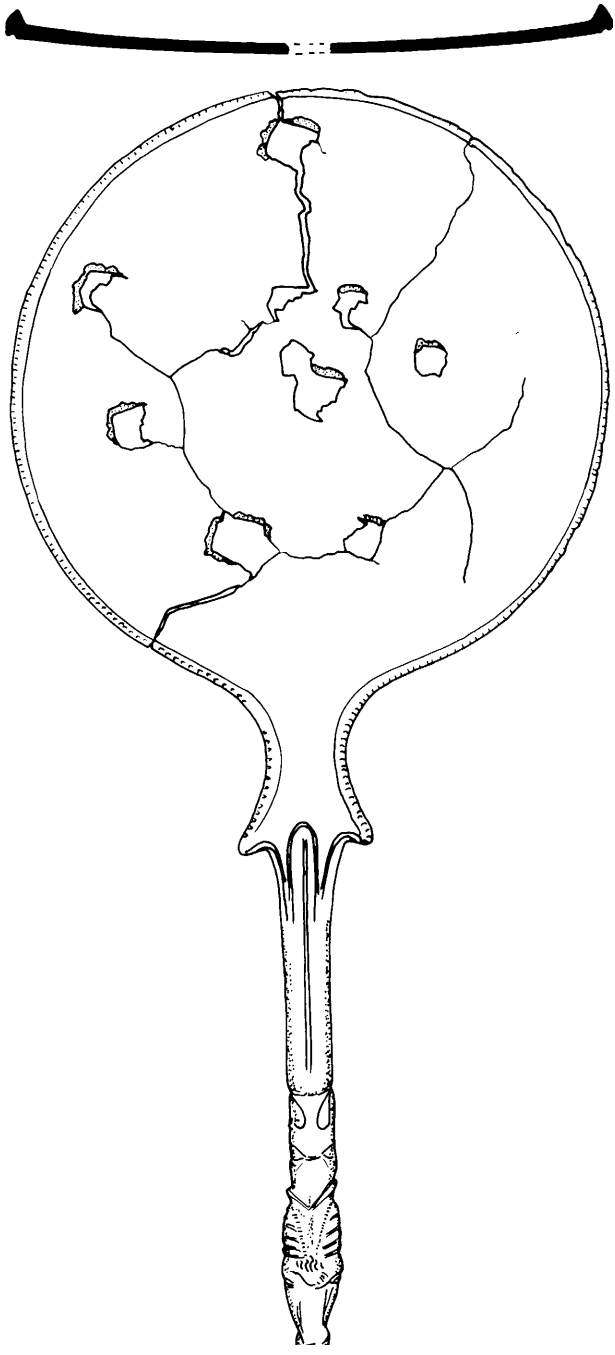

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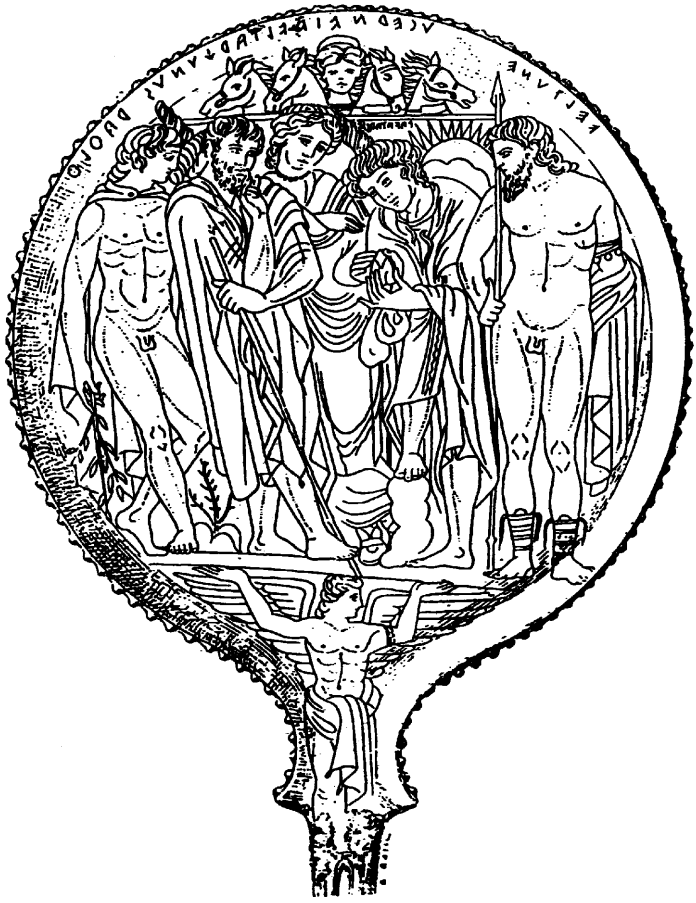

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